

CHARLES HENRY BROMBY, SECOND BISHOP OF TASMANIA

by

Herbert H. Condon, B.A., B.D.

submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts.

UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA

HOBART

1964.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university, and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no copy or paraphrase of material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Herbert H. Condon.

Herbert H. Condon



Rev. Charles Henry Bromby, M.A.,

Cheltenham, 1855.

CONTENTS

Chapter:		Page:
	FOREWORD	7.
I	HULL, YORKSHIRE. 1814:1829	9.
II	UPPINGHAM SCHOOL, AND ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE. 1829:1837	25.
III	ORDINATION, AND THE CHELTENHAM YEARS. 1836:1864	36.
IV	TASMANIAN SEE, AND THE NIXON LEGACY	69.
V	TASMANIAN SEE: PROBLEMS OF DISESTABLISHMENT. 1865:1872	109.
VI	CLERICAL DISCIPLINE, AND CHURCH THOUGHT. 1865:1872	204.
VII	THE NEW CATHEDRAL ERA. 1873:1882	283.
VIII	POST-TASMANIA. 1883:1907	335.
IX	THE MAN AND HIS WORK	341.
	APPENDICES	352.
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	356.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Rev. Charles Henry Bromby, M.A., Cheltenham, 1855	frontispiece
Rev. John Healey Bromby, M.A.	16.
Vicarage House, Hull, 1849.	21.
Uppingham Grammar School House, C.1825.	28.
School House Studies, Uppingham, Rutland, C.1850.	29.
The Old Elizabethan Schoolroom.	30.
Stepney Grammar School, London, C.1867.	38.
St Paul's Church, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire. Restored Interior.	43.
St Paul's Training College, Cheltenham, 1850.	47.
Bishops' Conference, Sydney, 1868.	146.
Church Statistics for 1872.	203.
Thomas Haydock Reibey, C.1850.	219.
Rev. Henry Bodley Bromby, B.A., 1874.	246.
The Hayward Controversy. The Bishop writes to His Excellency.	270.
"Old St David's", Hobart, C.1844.	287.
Duke of Edinburgh Lays the Foundation Stone, St David's Cathedral, Hobart, January 1868.	298.
Mary Anne Bromby (nee Bodley), 1874.	311.
Bishop and Clergy, 1882.	322.
"Charles Henry Tasmania"-born:1814: Died:1907.	351.

Acknowledgment:

For photographs, reproductions and editing, acknowledgment is made to:

Photographic Department, Hull University Library, Hull, Yorkshire;
 Librarian, Albion Street Libraries, Kingston-upon-Hull, Yorkshire;
 Librarian, Uppingham, Rutland, England;
 Librarian, Stepney Borough Library, London;
 Vicar of St Paul's, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire;
 History Department, St Paul's Training College, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire;
 St David's Cathedral Museum, Hobart, Tasmania;
 and Photographic Department, University of Tasmania, Hobart.

Special Acknowledgment is made to the extensive photographic work undertaken in connection with this thesis by:

The Late Rev. Canon E.F.N. Cash, M.A., B.D., Th.D.,
 formerly Registrar, Australian College of Theology,
 Sydney, New South Wales.

Typing and Reading of Proofs: Mrs Robert Trenham, Hobart, Tasmania.

SYNOPSIS

Born the son of the militant Vicar of Hull, Bromby's protected childhood was fostered in an atmosphere of urban development and ecclesiastical and political reform. He inherited his father's apprehensiveness of inflexible ecclesiastical and social traditions in a changing and expanding world. Bromby was prepared for the service of God and humanity in an age of revolution; he was educated at Uppingham and Cambridge, and remained greatly influenced by his family life in Hull. He determined to teach the poor and enhance their welfare in a rapidly-developing industrial society.

Bromby's great opportunity came when he was appointed Principal of the Cheltenham Normal College in Gloucestershire. There he introduced increasing numbers of men and women into the art of Christian teaching of the poor. His influence spread throughout the Kingdom and to distant parts of the world. Soon, however, he became opposed to frivolous bigotry in matters ecclesiastical and doctrinal, intellectual and governmental. He could not row in the same boat as the stringent Evangelicals nor with "free-trade educationalists". His incipient doctrine of tolerant comprehensiveness in both educational and ecclesiastical affairs led to disagreements with Cheltenham Church authorities and his preferment to work in a Colonial Bishopric.

The See to which he went, Tasmania, was a penal See struggling for life in an environment of government interference. Nixon had left a legacy of indiscipline, personal animosity and diocesan indifference. The Church expressed itself in terms of personalities and colonial ownership. There was little intellectual appreciation of Anglicanism, but a predilec-

SYNOPSIS (Continued)

tion for partisanship and improvisation. The See was poor and unendowed.

Bromby wanted to free the Tasmanian Church from bonds of ignorance and intolerance. He sought "disestablishment", the Church's release from the government's ministerial, financial and property control. His struggle was the more noteworthy in that it took place at a time when colonial episcopacy was legally uncertain and when important changes were taking place in Home and Colonial Church relations. Bromby won, using diocesan and provincial Synods as his aids.

To encourage freedom, toleration and moderation, Bromby consolidated clerical discipline within the Tasmanian Church. Further, he preached Anglican "comprehensiveness" in doctrinal and ritualistic matters. He did not easily convince colonists of his altruistic intentions. In ecclesiastical affairs, as in political, colonists arrayed themselves with particular personalities, as partisans. The Bishop's doctrine seemed both vacillating and insipid. Colonists argued with Bromby's son, a violent partisan and sacramentalist and treacherous to the Bishop's cause. Bromby's aim to liberate the Tasmanian Church from inhibiting colonialism into a free, tolerant comprehensiveness was distorted by his own nepotism and paternal devotion. Even the new cathedral, which was to have been the centre of Bromby's golden age of unified Anglicanism and diocesan inter-dependence, provided instead an impetus to arid parochialism.

Disappointed, Bromby returned to England. He died in 1907. Bromby saw more clearly than his contemporaries the needs of the Tasmanian Church and of Education in an age of transition. Only now are many of his plans being implemented.

ABBREVIATIONS used in the footnotes and references:

A.G.M.	Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Governors and Vice-Presidents of the Cheltenham Normal College, Gloucestershire, England.
B.C.	Barrett Collection.
Bp	Bishop Bromby.
<u>C.N.</u>	<u>Church News for the Diocese of Tasmania.</u>
C.S.D.	Colonial Secretary's Department, Hobart.
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography.</u>
<u>D.S.T.</u>	<u>Official Record of the Proceedings of the Diocesan Synod of Tasmania.</u>
E.C.	Executive Council, Hobart.
G.O.	Governor's Office, Hobart.
L.B.	Letter-Book.
N.B.	Note-Book.
<u>Year Book</u>	<u>Year Book of the Church of England in Tasmania.</u>

FOREWORD

Charles Henry Bromby was as wise as well as a godly man. This thesis attempts to assess his life and work as a devoted man and a pioneer bishop: The main object has been to present from basic materials an account of Bromby's life, and his work in the Diocese of Tasmania.

The main sources of the materials are contained in the bibliography. The Bishop's own letter-books and note-books, and his wife's journals and letters, have furnished the details or pointed to sources of information for a large part of the Tasmanian chapters. Bromby's habit of collecting cuttings from journals and newspapers, which he inserted in his note-books, has proved invaluable for following Colonial Church problems.

For the early and later chapters, assistance has flowed from England. Ready acknowledgment is made to:

The City Libraries, Civic offices and Holy Trinity Church, of Kingston-upon-Hull, Yorkshire; Uppingham School, Rutland; University of Cambridge; the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York; St Paul's Church, Committee of Education, Public Libraries, Ladies' College and St Paul's Training College, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire; the Church Times; Keeper of the Manuscripts, Cathedral Library, Canterbury, Kent; and the British Museum, London. Research has been undertaken by: the Bishop of Derby; the Bishop of Stepney; J. M. Meadley, Hull; J. Lawson, Education Department, University of Hull; the Lecturer in History, St Paul's Training College, Cheltenham; Miss V. M. Hounsfield, Ladies' College, Cheltenham; E. Bailey, Bath; H. H. Sharpe, Bristol, D. Proctor and Miss K. Hall, London; and Mrs. H. Cooke, Oxford, grand-daughter of the Bishop.

It may be thought that more space than is necessary has been given to the early and pre-Tasmanian years, but this part of Bromby's life is so important to an understanding of his Tasmanian episcopate, that it is as it is. It is a period greatly influenced by Hull and Bromby's father who was Vicar of Hull for sixty-nine years. Both the Bishop and his brother John Edward Bromby, first Headmaster of Melbourne Grammar School, must be known through their parentage and early life. They themselves looked back on their boyhood with a strong sense of what they owed to Hull and their father, Uppingham and Cambridge. It was the father who set the example for the sons and who settled their future along lines of religious devotion and educational fervour. Hull is proud of the name of Bromby.

But the driving motive of this thesis has been to try to give a first record of a man who was not only a servant of the English Church but a pioneer statesman in the Colonial Church. Bromby spent almost twenty years in a colonial diocese, far from the country of his birth and first love, at a time when strong forces were making for separation and bringing confusion in their wake. If Francis Russell Nixon, first Bishop of Tasmania, can be regarded as the Father of the Tasmanian Church, Charles Henry Bromby was its saviour. It was a weak and perilous diocese to which he came. He gave it both succour and courage to grow. He left it not strong but greatly strengthened. The Tasmanian Church to-day remains indebted to the wise guidance and personal piety of Charles Henry Bromby, of Hull.

Chapter One

HULL, YORKSHIRE.

1814:1829

BIRTH

Charles Henry Bromby was born in Hull on 11 July 1814. He was the second son of John Healey Bromby and Jane Bromby, formerly Amis, of Acomb near York.¹ His birthplace was "Vicarage House, 3 South side Trinity Church". The church itself stood across the road from Vicarage House. A commanding building, with a lovely tower, it traced its history from the thirteenth century. John Healey Bromby was Vicar there. Charles's earliest memories were all centred in Hull, the church and the home where he was born.

Bells often pealed from the church's tower, but rarely had they sounded so strongly as in 1814, Charles's birth-year and a year of peace. Bonaparte was defeated, and Britain "rang with the voice of joy". The inhabitants of Hull had planned their demonstration for 20 April. Bells rang, royal salutes were fired from the citadel, and ships in the port were gaily decorated. In the evening most windows were brilliantly lit, "transparencies and designs in coloured lamps being numerous and splendid".² But a solemn note was also sounded. Peace was declared in Hull on 23 June "with much ceremony", and a ser-

1. Hull Advertiser, 26 March 1868.

2. J. J. Sheahan, History of the Town and Port of Kingston-upon-Hull, 2nd ed. (Hull, 1866.), pp 467-468, 643.

vice was held in the parish church where guidance was sought for the years that lay ahead. Thus Charles was born into an atmosphere of excitement and earnest expectancy.

HULL

For a boy of alert mind, insatiable curiosity and vivid imagination the rapidly growing port and market-town of Hull held much of interest. Coaches and ships brought travellers and merchants there. The Hull of Charles's boyhood was fast becoming one of the principal ports of the British Empire. Hull's population had numbered less than 30,000 in 1801, but by 1821, when Charles started school, it had risen to 41,420. By 1833, when he left for Cambridge, it had reached almost 60,000.³ Ship-building was mainly responsible for the increase. Charles saw wooden and even stronger ships built on the banks of the Humber. The live battle-ship AUSON of seventy-four guns had been built in 1810. The first steamship appeared on the Humber in 1815; in 1819 the first steamers went seaward from Hull. About a third of the ships in the whaling trade operated from this port. From 1810 to 1818, when the whaling business declined, fifty-three vessels were engaged in the trade. They averaged about 100 tons burden and employed fifty men each per year. Other industries flourished. Iron foundries were established, the largest furniture manufactory in the Kingdom was built, and tobacco manufacturers began to operate. In 1818, merchants used coal gas for the first time as

3. J. J. Sheahan, op cit, p.2.

lighting for shops in Hull. "Instead of formidable bulwarks displaying the apparatus of war, Hull was fast becoming an open town, presenting on every side docks filled with ships, the vehicles of commerce and the emblems of peace."⁴

Social problems accompanied the port's rapid growth. Press-gangs were active. They were widely reported in Hull in 1811, 1815 and 1818. Another problem was the increase of the poor. The Town authorities built a Charity House, work-houses and houses of correction "for the better employment and maintenance of the poor".⁵ John Healey Bromby himself worked for the Charter-House which provided for forty-four 'brothers' and 'sisters' who lived detached from each other. They were allowed "three shillings and sixpence a week each, besides coal, turves and occasional payments, thus living very comfortably".⁶ There were also Refuges for the Insane.

Almost certainly Charles Bromby's imagination would have been fired by the name of Snowden Dunhill, of Spaldington Lane, near Howden. He was the notorious highwayman who, with his gang of thieves, terrorized the district, and made it dangerous to travel by horse or coach after night-fall in that part of England. In 1825, when Charles was

-
4. J. Craggs, A New Triennial Directory and Guide of Kingston-upon-Hull. (Hull, 1835.), p.57.
5. J. Craggs, *ibid*, p.38.
6. *ibid*, p.36.

still a schoolboy in Hull, Dunhill was sentenced to transportation for life and sent to Botany Bay. In July 1827, Snowden Dunhill's twenty-four year old son George was executed at Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land. He had been transported from Beverley sessions a few years previously, along with his mother. Charles's mind must have turned even then to the southern seas and the lot of convicts there.

Charles was a thoughtful and sensitive child. He was small in stature and timid by nature. Observant of social conditions and attentive to vicarage discussions, he became genuinely concerned at an early age "for all sorts and conditions of men, commanding to God's fatherly goodness all those who are any ways afflicted, or distressed, in mind, body or estate; that it may please God to comfort and relieve them, according to their several necessities, giving them patience under their sufferings, and a happy issue out of all their afflictions." Old beyond his years, indifferent to sport probably because of his size, and thus given to boyhood solitude, he looked out on the affairs of his world of Hull with puzzled eyes. He became prone to "night disturbances", a trouble he kept for life. On the trip to Australia in the True Briton his wife wrote of him:

"Charles suffers so from his nocturnal enemies, and then wakes up. He does not get good nights. Sometimes he sleeps on the Cuddy table, sometimes on a seat, sometimes on three chairs in my cabin, but he can rarely sleep in the bunks....."

7

Hull contributed to Charles's life a deep concern for the underprivileged and a discernment of their needs.

7. Mrs Bromby's True Briton Journal. (in the possession of Mrs H. Cooke, Manor Farm House, Beckley, Oxford, England.)

J. H. Bromby, and Vicarage House

The one outstanding reality of his childhood was his home. His father, John Healey Bromby, set the tone which marked out the family as Churchmen and Christian educators throughout the nineteenth century. Of J. H. Bromby's ancestors little authentic information is available. He was probably descended on the paternal side from a family who resided at a village known as Bromby in Lincolnshire.⁸ Certainly he was of the family of Duncalf of whom one, Humphrey, was Mayor of Hull in 1668 and another, Edmund, was Chamberlain in 1690.⁹ His father, John Bromby, was "a woollen draper in the market place". The Bromby family had been long interested in the civic and commercial affairs of Hull. J. H. Bromby was born in Hull on 18 October 1770. He was the first of his family to train for the Church. As a boy he went to Hull Grammar School where his headmaster was Joseph Milner, celebrated author of the English Church History. A man of strong evangelical leanings, Milner encouraged Bromby to enter Cambridge and offer for ordination. At Cambridge Bromby graduated B.A. as 17th Wrangler in 1792; he later took out his M.A. degree, and was chosen as Fellow of his College, Sidney Sussex. He thus established a tradition of scholarship which he passed to his whole family and particularly to his sons.

J. H. Bromby was made deacon at Bishopthorpe Palace by the Archbishop of York on 7 July 1793. On the nomination of James Godmand

8. Hull Advertiser, 26 March 1868.

9. Hull Packet, 27 March 1868.

he was licensed to the curacy of Armin for £30 per annum. On 1 July 1795 he was allowed to serve the cure of Walkington, near Beverley, on the nomination of the Rector, J. M. Clowes, for £30 and the use of his house and some land. On 29 December 1797, letters dimissory were issued to the Bishop of London for him to be ordained priest on 31 December 1797. Soon afterwards, on 6 January 1798, he was instituted Vicar of Holy Trinity, Kingston-upon-Hull, on the presentation of the Mayor and Aldermen.¹⁰

Thus, at twenty-seven, Bromby became Milner's successor in the Town Church, but he did not minister with such strong evangelical fervour as his predecessor. Rather, he was "a man without strong religious partisanship but who sympathised with Tractarianism and used his patronage to introduce men of Pusey-ite convictions into Hull." Nevertheless, it was not Bromby's but Milner's influence, carried on by his disciples Thomas Dykes and John Scott, which shaped the churchman-ship of Hull throughout most of the nineteenth century.¹¹ Bromby was Vicar of Hull for sixty-nine years, resigning the cure on 30 March 1867. When he died in 1868 he was Master of the Charter-House, a position he had held with distinction since he succeeded G. M. Carrick in 1849.

During J. H. Bromby's life-time a predominantly rural England had become the foremost industrial and metropolitan nation in the world,

10. 'Ordination Papers' and 'Institution Act Books'.

(Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York.)

11. J. Lawson, A Town Grammar School through Six Centuries.

(O.U.P., 1963.), p.184.

and economic development and political reforms had gathered pace. Bromby's century was full of upheaval no less in religion and ecclesiastical life than in politics and science. The Evangelical revival had taken root within the Church of England, and the Oxford Movement provided growth of a supplementary authoritarian kind. The Church's whole temper was modified, and the Free Churches were enriched and provoked. Bromby, though not evangelical, saw in the wake of the Evangelical revival the beginnings of an Ecumenical movement. He was attracted to this position, yet he could not escape the evangelical influence.

J. H. Bromby was very much a man of the Enlightenment. He was energetic and compassionate yet fearless in utterance. In churchmanship his emphasis on authority was as unacceptable to Evangelical extremists as his puritanical piety repelled rigid Tractarians. The Hull evangelicals considered him merely a moral and philosophical preacher.¹² He was in advance of his age seeking, beyond party exclusiveness, an ecumenical position. "His expressed churchmanship was of that true and broad kind which allowed to all men the same freedom in religious conviction as he demanded for himself."¹³ He courageously expressed his theological position in a published sermon, EIPHNIKON, which offended the Archbishop of York as containing views too comprehensive and liberal for a Churchman.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the Archbishop sanctioned his Church

12. Hull Advertiser, 26 March 1868.

13. Hull and Eastern Counties' Herald, 26 March 1868.

14. T. J. Buckton, "Notes and Queries", *ibid.*



Rev. John Healey Bromby, M.A.,
Photograph: Hull University Library, Photographic Department.
Under the original is written:

J. H. Bromby. Decr. 20th, 1861.
Vicar of Holy Trinity, Hull.
Master of God's House Hospital
born 18 October 1770
died 25 March 1868

extension in Hull. Bromby opened the Mariners' Church on 17 February 1828, preached the first sermon at St James's Church on 27 August 1831, and laid the foundation of St Stephen's Church in June 1842.

Politically, Bromby was an advanced reformer. He frequently entertained French prisoners-of-war and revolutionary refugees resident near Walkington, receiving from them in return his intimate knowledge of the French language. At a time when to advocate Reform was to be suspect, when it was even dangerous to espouse the cause of the people and of free trade, Bromby was one of Daniel Sykes's most zealous supporters in his candidature for the representation of Hull. Until 1830 he was rarely absent from meetings in Hull to discuss public affairs, and his opinions expressed there prevented his nomination for preferment by the Tory Party. At a meeting held at the Guildhall in February 1817 "to take into consideration the alarming and distressed state of the Kingdom, and to petition the Legislature for a full, fair and equal representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament," Bromby was particularly outspoken. He attributed the "calamitous situation" of the Kingdom to "long and obstinate perseverance in measures adverse to the public interests," and he declaimed that the only hope of deliverance was in "a thorough and radical change of system". But he did not wish for revolution. Bromby upheld constitutional authority and prerogatives and the privileges of the peers. What he asked for was the full, fair and constitutional representative of the Commons, and the diffusion of this emphasis within the legitimate British form of government to even the most distant parts of the world. In ecclesias-

tical matters this was the exact outlook he bequeathed to his son, Charles. J. H. Bromby wrote:

"I am fully persuaded that Great Britain, having been so eminently instrumental in shedding the light of Christian truth to the furthest extremities of the Globe,.....and having set so bright an example of disinterested regard to human liberty, improvement and happiness, in the abolition of the slave trade, may yet promote and encourage the cause of the people's legitimate liberty, in matters both civil and religious, all over the world." 15

Bromby was deeply concerned for the working man's welfare. He was distressed by the lack of hygiene in Hull. After much agitation, he got baths and wash-houses provided for public use. Again, Bromby was an ardent advocate of popular education. One of the results of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 was that Hull Grammar School was removed from Corporation control, and Bromby became one of the first trustees. Bromby fostered primary education within his parish by establishing the Holy Trinity Parish Schools' Committee of which he was first chairman. In the field of adult education, he was a founder of Hull's "Society for Literary Information" (19 January 1792) and the Hull Mechanics' Institute (1 June 1825). The Mechanics' Institute aimed to "instruct members at a cheap rate in the principles of their respective arts, and in the various branches of science and useful knowledge." "This revolutionary educational scheme," as it was called, claimed 670 members by 1864, and attributed its popularity and success to lecturers

like John Alderson, George Lee and Bromby. The Mechanics' Institute was the forerunner of C.H. Bromby's "Working Men's Clubs".

Despite his political and educational activities, Bromby did not neglect his studies; and he built up an excellent library.

Bromby published a translation of one of Plutarch's tracts on music, in 1821. In 1831 A Sermon at the Consecration of St James's, Hull appeared and, in 1869, A Catalogue of.....Books of Rev. J. H. Bromby.

Bromby's strength of character showed in his face, and Charles knew his father as a man of indomitable resolution; but the Puritan mask he wore was sometimes cracked by his wit and sense of humour. Many delightful stories surrounded the Vicar's dealings with his superstitious parishioners. The one Charles liked most concerned a ghost which was said to walk the Citadel in the form of a headless man. The inhabitants were terrified and sent a deputation to the Vicar pleading with him to exorcise the evil spirit. The Vicar's reply is on record.¹⁷ "I am sorry I cannot come with you," he said. "I have a bad cold and cannot go to the ghost. But if you care to bring him to me, I shall receive him gladly and do what you require!"

Deep happiness marked the Bromby family life. J. H. Bromby married Jane Amis at St Paul's Covent Garden, in September 1806. He buried her in the church-yard of North Ferriby in September 1867. For over sixty years nothing was allowed to disturb the calm dignity and happy family relationship. John and Jane Bromby built a family tradi-

16. J. J. Sheahan, op cit, p.643

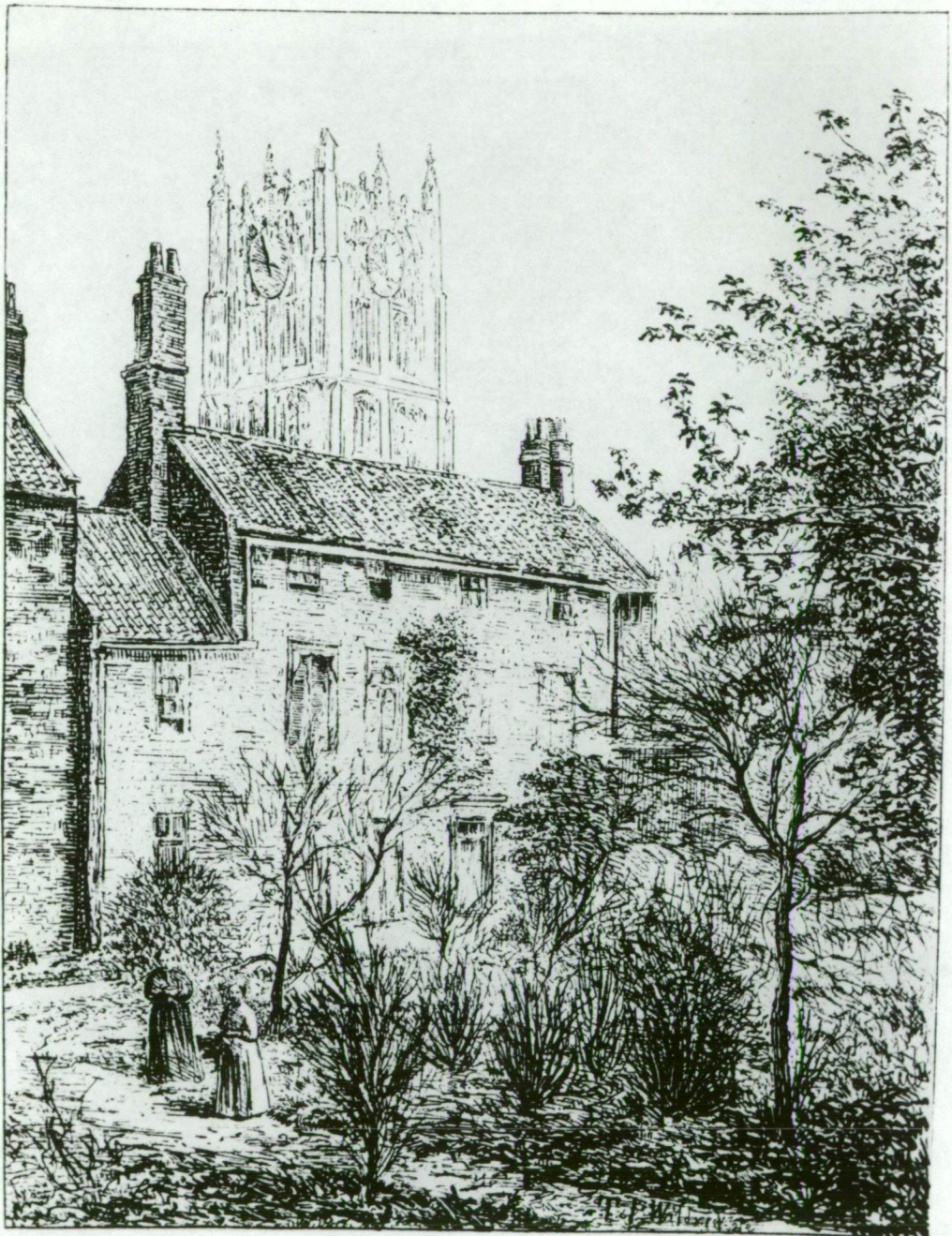
17. Hull and Eastern Counties Herald, 26 March 1868.

tion which was revered by all their children. It was based on a home-life where "the love of Christ shone with beauty through the love of parents". For over a century the Bromby family remained devoted to each other and loyal to the Christian precepts taught them in their childhood home. Eight children survived infancy, five daughters and three sons. Two of the sons became Curates to their father at Holy Trinity Church. Charles held a Readership there, and was Curate of Christ Church, Hull, as well. The eldest son, John Edward, became the first Headmaster of Melbourne Church of England Grammar School in 1858, and later Warden of the Senate of the University of Melbourne and Incumbent of St Paul's Cathedral. The youngest, Frederick, died in his ¹⁸ twenties at the beginning of a promising ecclesiastical career. Of the daughters, three married, but two - Hannah and Emily - kept school in a tough, detached part of the parish. J. H. Bromby rejoiced in his children's devotion to service. His last pleasures were the receiving of a photograph of Dr John Edward Bromby in the robes of Warden of the Senate of Melbourne University and listening to extracts from Dr. Charles Henry Bromby's Tasmanian letters. En route to Tasmania C. H. Bromby wrote:

".....all the many evidences of paternal and pastoral love have been deeply affecting, filling the heart with sorrow and joy. One cannot but feel deep regret for the stern destiny that takes from my dear parents their last son in old age, but yet one of the chief grounds of satisfaction to myself has been the pleasure they must have derived from my appointment to so holy and, if well discharged, exalted office in Christ's Church."

19

-
18. J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part 11, Vol.1
(C.U.P., 1940.), p.390
19. True Briton Journal, op cit.



Vicarage House, Hull, 1849.
from a lithograph by Thomas Tindill Wildridge,
Hull historian and artist.

Hull Grammar School

Next door but one to Vicarage House was Hull Grammar School, where J. H. Bromby himself had received his early education. Charles and his two brothers were sent there, Charles being enrolled in 1821. At that time Hull Grammar School was a struggling establishment of twenty-five boys controlled by Rev. George John Davies. Since 1812 Davies had built up the school after a period of decline. He began to cater for the growing merchant class by making the school as much an English as a classical one. To the study of the Classics he had added English Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Book-keeping and Geography. However, in 1817, depressed trading conditions and a fall in the town's revenue had compelled retrenchment, and Davies sought part-time work elsewhere. From that time the school fell back again. In 1824 Davies was succeeded by Rev. William Wilson, a man of twenty-nine. Wilson had taught at Carlisle Grammar School for a time, and had been recommended by Milner's disciple, John Fawcett, as John Scott's Curate at St Mary's. By 1826 Wilson had thirty-eight pupils of whom seventeen were burgesses' sons. He engaged one Usher, Robert Cullen, and a visiting languages master, T. H. Fitzgibbon. In December 1826 he was advertising for a new usher:

"a person of good address, unexceptional behaviour, and competent to teach the higher branches of Mathematics, Astronomy included."

Besides Latin and Greek, the School offered French, Reading, Writing ("plain and ornamental"), Arithmetic, Merchants' Accounts,

English Grammar and Composition, Geography and the use of the Globes, Mathematics and "all other Branches of Education requisite for the sphere of life in which the pupil may be designed to move". The subjects were taught at an elementary school level; the headmaster was a non-graduate; and most boys left about the age of fourteen to take up commerce and business. Wilson was a mild, gentle and rather ineffective man who suffered from chronic ill-health. In consequence, the school's reputation in scholarship and discipline declined further.

Charles Bromby stayed at Hull Grammar School from 1821 to 1829.

20

Unlike his elder brother, he won no scholarships there, but like him he gained ideas on education which were never forgotten. Although none of C. H. Bromby's masters at Hull would have been trained, and although few of his contemporaries would have become teachers of the kind he later trained and befriended at Cheltenham, his experiences with both the masters and boys were long and pleasantly remembered. In 1864 he wrote:

"I hope we may all - teachers and taught alike - realise to ourselves our glorious common mission of educating a young colony like a young child, and leaving an impression for good which, made in its tender years, shall 21 never be erased.....Such was my own boyhood experience."

Nothing in Charles's early life could supersede the influence of his home. His attitudes towards his schoolwork and towards Hull itself were conditioned by it. There can be no doubt that "Vicarage

20. R.W.B. Wilmot (ed.), Liber Melburniensis. 1858-1914.
(Melb., 1914.),

21. True Briton Journal, op cit.

House, 3 South side Trinity Church" held the key to the man of the future.

Chapter Two

UPPINGHAM SCHOOL, AND ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

1829:1837

From 1829 to 1837 Charles Henry Bromby was at boarding school and university. In his wisdom, J. H. Bromby saw his son's future in terms of an adequate and effective education. The years of Charles's education were stirring years: the Napoleonic Wars had bequeathed further European revolutions; the Tories were making their last stand; trade unions were beginning; and so were steamships, railways and the police. J. H. Bromby hoped that the education he had planned for his son would develop in him a sense of political responsibility, and that this would be based on a broad and pious theological conviction. He was not disappointed.

UPPINGHAM

In August 1829, Charles went to Uppingham, his brother's school in Rutland. He was entered as a boarder. Uppingham School, along with Oakham School, was founded by Robert Johnson, Archdeacon of Leicester, in 1584. Little is known of Uppingham before the arrival of Edward Thring in 1853; no history of the school covering Bromby's schooldays has ever been published. But the Thring centenary number of the Uppingham School Magazine, July 1953, contains relevant information in the form of two photographs. The first photograph is from a water-colour of the School buildings as they were about 1825, and the

second is of the School House Studies in 1868. The water-colour shows Uppingham as Charles knew it. The main building on the left was his schoolboy home for four years; it contained the Hall and dormitories. Behind, is an old Elizabethan building which formed the Headmaster's house; on the right is a row of studies used by the boys in the day-time. The second photograph, in which the studies appear again, shows more clearly the conditions under which Bromby and his school-mates did preparation for Classics, Literature and Mathematics, the three essential subjects in the curriculum of their day. Rev. Josiah Rowles Buckland, D.D., had become Headmaster of Uppingham School in 1824 and remained until 1839. He was a friend of J. H. Bromby, and a Cambridge man. Buckland was assisted by Rev. William Turner, B.A., who was Usher from 1822 to 1849. The only other member of the teaching staff in Bromby's day was a writing master; but of him there is no school record. The number of pupils was not large, probably not much larger than at Hull Grammar School. But, whereas both schools were based on the parish church, catered for sons of the middle and merchant classes and had scholarships available for the poor, Uppingham had the advantages of an established boarding house. Moreover, a good tone had already been set by Buckland by the time young Bromby arrived. Buckland's reputation was high.

Teaching emphasis was on Classics and Mathematics, although Literature, Science and Commerce were beginning to find their place. However, Divinity claimed priority. Buckland's aims were to train the boys to think and to dedicate their talents to God. All lessons were

taught in the old Elizabethan schoolroom. This room had been used since the School's foundation and was to remain in use until Thring built a new Schoolroom and Chapel in 1860. The old Schoolroom was situated in Uppingham church-yard. Until 1860 all the boys attended services in the Parish Church where they had seats in the South Gallery. During his time at the school Bromby took a keen and active interest in the Uppingham Parish Church. The school was to decline between Buckland's departure in 1839 and Thring's arrival in 1853¹, but Bromby was always grateful for the training he received there. He continued to write for the Uppingham School Magazine during his adult life and even in the midst of his busy episcopate.

At Uppingham, Bromby learnt to overcome much of his shyness. He consolidated his study, became fairly successful at games, and developed a flair for chess. He became interested, too, in Science, and particularly Astronomy, an interest he retained throughout his life. He was Dux and Captain of the School 1832:33, and left for Cambridge in 1833 as an Exhibitioner, Uppingham School. This probably means that he held an Exhibition while at Uppingham, though it may mean that he was granted a Leaving Exhibition on going to Cambridge.² At Cambridge, he was a Johnson Scholar, which means he held one of the scholarships or exhibitions endowed in various Cambridge colleges by the Founder of Uppingham. In his last year at School Bromby was already thinking in terms of ordination and teaching. The influence of both home and school had had its effect. On 20 May 1833 he was admitted pensioner of St John's College, Cambridge, and he was more than ready for the university years ahead.

-
1. 'Extracts from Edward Thring's Diary', Uppingham School Magazine, July 1953, pp 4-7.
 2. The Headmaster of Uppingham, letter 21 February 1963.



Uppingham Grammar School House.

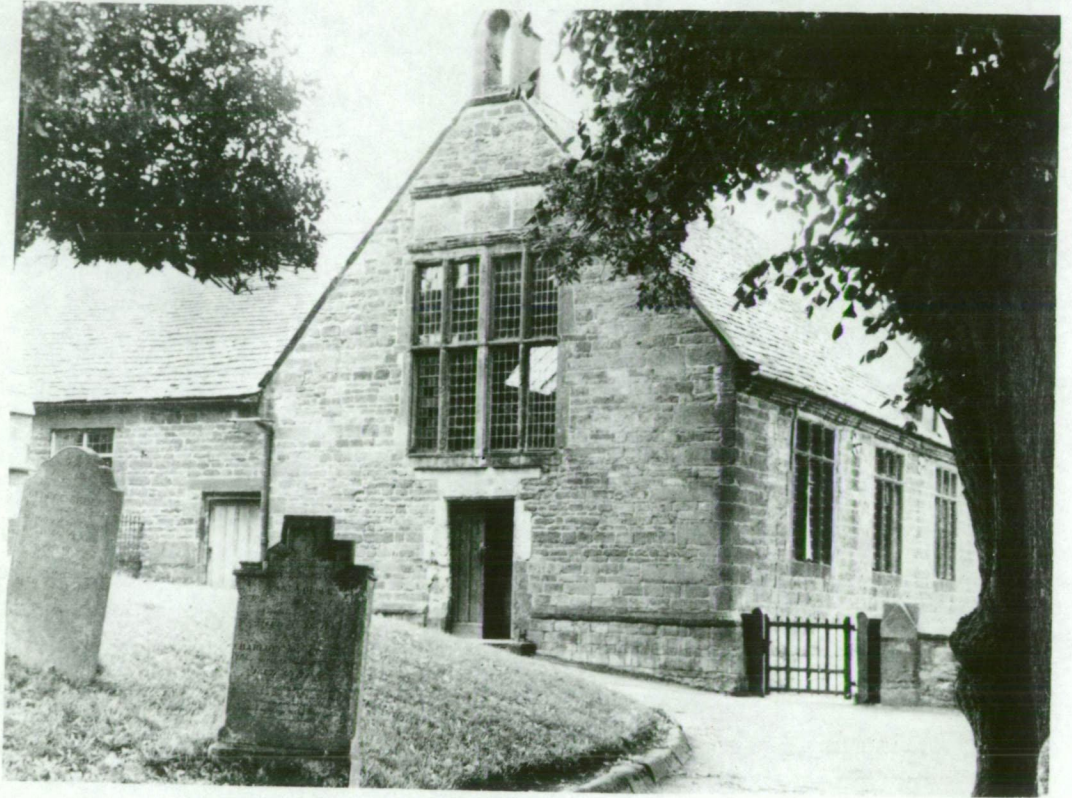
from a water-colour circa 1825; reproduced in
the Thring Centenary Number, Uppingham
School Magazine, 1953.



School House Studies, Uppingham, Rutland.

circa 1850.

reproduced from Uppingham School Magazine, 1953.



The Old Elizabethan Schoolroom.

by courtesy: Librarian, Uppingham, Rutland.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

At the age of nineteen, Bromby went up to Cambridge, where he was entered at St John's College on 10 October 1833 and admitted a Scholar on 5 November. Bromby kept residence for ten terms. He became 9th Junior Optime, that is in the third class, Mathematical Tripos, and was first in the third class, Classical Tripos. He graduated B.A. in 1837 and took out his M.A. in 1840. Later, upon his appointment as Bishop of Tasmania in 1864, the University awarded Bromby his D.D. de jure dignitatis.

Bromby soon felt at ease at Cambridge. This was due, in great measure, to his tutors and friends. His tutors were Edward Bushby, John Hymers and Henry Hunter Hughes; his friends and contemporaries at St John's were William Nathaniel Griffin, Thomas Whytehead, James Joseph Sylvester and Edward Brumell. Of his three tutors, Bushby inspired Bromby by his interest in education and his deep knowledge of the Scriptures;³ and Hymers, who was a distinguished mathematician and a good Classical scholar,⁴ directed his university studies generally. Hymers numbered among his students Bishop J. W. Colenso, a prominent figure in ecclesiastical litigation about the time C. H. Bromby was dealing with disestablishment of the Church in Tasmania. But it was Henry Hunter Hughes who, by his personal charm and character, most greatly influenced Bromby's outlook in his undergraduate days. Few

3. J. A. Venn, op cit, p 471;

4. D. N. B. (Lond., 1891.), Vol XXV111, p 405.

men during his years of residence at the University were better known.

H. H. Hughes was described as "the very model of a College Tutor".⁵

He was later Chairman of the Hadleigh bench of magistrates. Bromby was fortunate in his friends. Griffin, the son of a silk merchant, became expert in educational method and a very successful private tutor between 1837 and 1847. Whytehead, remarkable for his earnest piety, was much influenced by the Evangelical Charles Simeon then nearing the end of his fifty-four years' ministry at Holy Trinity, Cambridge.

Whytehead and Bromby were both Yorkshiremen and near boyhood neighbours.

Whytehead had attended the grammar school at Beverley and was admitted a pensioner at St John's in October 1833. He had a brilliant academic

career.⁶ He was the first Bell Scholar, twice the winner of the Chancellor's English medal for poetry, Hulsean prize-winner, holder of Sir William Browne's medal for Latin and Greek, second in the Classical Tripos and senior classical medallist. Yet he resolved to become a missionary. This impressed Bromby. It appealed strongly to his own sense of vocation. Moreover, Bromby's own father was becoming particularly interested at this time in the missionary cause. Whytehead sailed for New Zealand on 26 December 1841 as chaplain to George Augustine Selwyn, newly appointed Bishop of New Zealand. He reached Sydney 14 April 1842, but his health completely broke down and, although he reached New Zealand, he died at Waimate, in the Bay of Islands, 19 March 1843.⁷ Bromby was often to recall "this noble sacrifice". The family

5. Eagle (St John's College, Cambridge.), XLIII, p 208.

6. J. A. Venn, op cit, Part 11, Vol VI, p 456

7. D. N. B. (Lond., 1900.), Vol LXI, p 172.

of Powis who were to erect Whytehead's memorial in the chapel of St John's College, near the city of Auckland, New Zealand, were also to provide Bromby's ecclesiastical living in Shropshire when Bromby returned from Tasmania in 1882. The third friend, Sylvester, was a Jew.⁸ Although he had matriculated 14 November 1831, he was "degraded" for two years at the end of 1833, being re-admitted in January 1836. As a Jew, Sylvester could neither take out his degree nor compete for the Smith's Prize. Nor could he obtain a fellowship, for a fellowship required a Divinity degree. So Sylvester took out his first degree - an ordinary one - at the University of Dublin in 1841. It was not until February 1872, after religious tests had been abolished, that he graduated B.A. at Cambridge. Sylvester was an outstanding student and teacher of Mathematics. He became Professor at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, and later at the University of Oxford. The fourth friend, Brumell, became a Fellow and Tutor of St John's and, after his ordination, Proctor of the College (1846). He took out the Smith's Prize which would ordinarily have gone to Sylvester. Bromby was less brilliant than many of his contemporaries. He was one of the less positive and boisterous of St John's College men. Correspondence shows that he was still given to attacks of shyness and introspection. Thus it was not surprising that he found his main friendship with Thomas Whytehead.

Yet the young, bearded undergraduate enjoyed his times of relaxation.⁹ Always happy with William Wordsworth, himself a St John's Col-

8. D. N. B. (Lond., 1898.), Vol LX, pp 258-259.

9. See C. H. Bromby, Wordsworth's 'The Excursion'. (Lond., 1864.)

lege man, Bromby could say in the words of "The Prelude":

".....Companionships,
Friendships, acquaintances were welcome all.
We sauntered, played or rioted; we talked
Unprofitable talk at morning hours;
Drifted along the streets and walks,
Read lazily in trivial books, went forth
To gallop through the country in blind zeal
Of senseless horsemanship, or on the breast
Of Cam sailed boisterously."

Bromby "rode, drove in high dog-carts, played chess, attended private parties after Hall and shared students' breakfasts of ham, pigeon pies and chops".¹⁰ But College life meant much more to him than these things. For all its conservatism, St John's - the "haven of north countrymen" - bred some notable reformers. Clarkson, Wilberforce, Whitbread and Tooke were all St John's men and proven reformers. Tooke in particular reminded Bromby of his father. He was a man who dared to be radical when fear of revolution made radicalism well nigh treason. Bromby was interested in reform and reformers.

However, James Wood, who was Master of St John's from 1815 to 1839 and to whom Bromby naturally looked for example, displayed "no welcoming enthusiasm for drastic innovation in church, university or public affairs". For example, back in 1817, when he was Vice-Chancellor, Wood had suppressed the Union Society for debating political questions, and in 1833 he stoutly opposed moves to abolish subscription to the thirty-nine Articles. Bromby opposed Wood's "conservative restriction"; but he admired his churchmanship and saw the Master of St

10. Bp's L.B.. Bp's N.B. For students' activities, see E. Miller, Portrait of a College - A History of the College of Saint John the Evangelist in Cambridge. (C.U.P., 1961.), circa p 80.

John's as "firmly attached.....to decent ceremonial and moderate discipli-¹¹ne, both as distinguished from bigotry and from enthusiasm". Seven chapel services a week were compulsory, and choral services were held on¹² Saturdays, Sundays and the evenings of Saints' Days. Bromby was at St John's in a period of development and growth. "The largest single building until then put up in any college" rose to help house the greatly increasing numbers following the Napoleonic Wars. The building was completed in 1831, just prior to Bromby's arrival, as part of a wider buildings scheme. A new chapel was planned and schools for singing boys were being established, but this was not without strong opposition. Bromby was to face similar problems of expansion and innovation in his episcopate, and his thoughts were to return to James Wood of St John's College in Cambridge.

During his stay at Cambridge, Bromby was fired by a missionary enthusiasm, yet he saw his future work, not in distant lands, but at home. He came down from Cambridge determined to work amongst the English poor. Letters to his father and elder brother show several of Bromby's characteristics: a belief in the sanctity of individuals, no matter what their social status; a desire to teach the poor and to train others to do so, as a missionary endeavour; dissatisfaction with the class monopoly of university education; a plan to improve educational and recreational facilities for working men; and a hope that the gap in churchmanship between Establishment and Dissent might yet be bridged.

11. For Bromby's diocesan policy, see Launceston Times, 10 March 1865.

12. E. Miller, *op cit*, p 80.

Chapter Three

ORDINATION, AND THE CHELTENHAM YEARS.

1838:1864

Ordination, Marriage and Family:

When, in 1838, Bromby presented himself to the Bishop of Lichfield for ordination, it was no snap decision on his part nor a surprise to his father or elder brother. Bromby had determined at Uppingham to follow his father's high calling. And now his elder brother, John Edward, a Fellow of St John's College (1834-1836), had received priest's orders in Bristol in 1835 and had recently been appointed assistant master at Bristol College.¹ He had set a pattern Charles aimed to follow, and Charles seems never to have doubted the wisdom of his choice.

Made deacon by the Bishop of Lichfield in 1838, Bromby served his first curacy in Chesterfield, Derbyshire, then part of the Lichfield diocese. Obtaining permission to serve in Yorkshire, he was ordained priest by the Archbishop of York in 1839, and held the curacy of Christ Church in Hull. The small, good-looking bachelor was popular, particularly as a preacher. His method of preaching was attractive. "Breathing the church's loving spirit, his utterances were refreshing and clothed in language terse, clear and eloquent. With moderate but perfect action, his manner in the pulpit was essentially dignified, manifesting the deep respect he paid to the message he was delivering".²

On 9 July 1839, Bromby married Mary Anne Bodley, eldest daughter of William Hulme Bodley, M.D., of Brighton. The Bodley family had for-

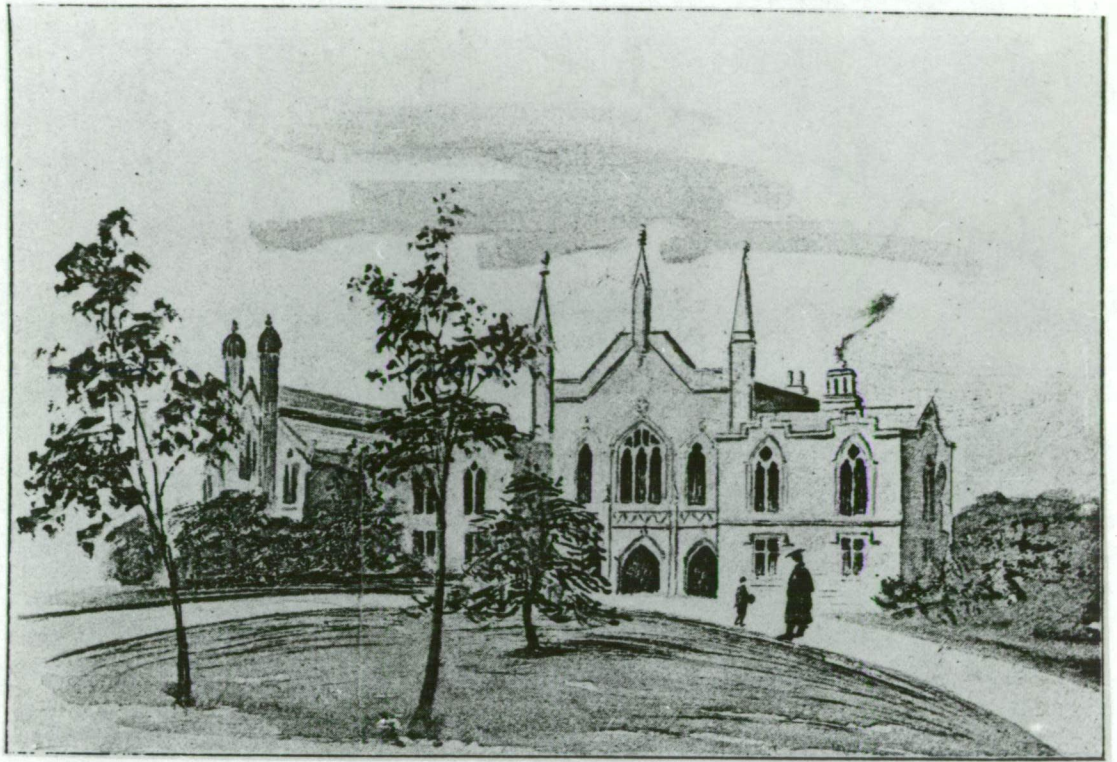
1. R.W.B. Wilmot (ed.), op cit, p lxiii.

2. Launceston Times 10 March 1865.

merly lived in Hull, the last time at 4 Albion Street. Bromby had married a childhood friend. Both Charles and Mary Bromby were twenty-four years old when they married. Mary Anne Bodley had been born in Brighton, but as a girl she had gone to Hull when her father returned to practise medicine there. This was some time before 1827 because the famous architect, George Frederick Bodley, who was Mary Bromby's brother, was born in Hull in that year. The Bodley family returned to Brighton, probably in 1836.³ Thus Charles had pursued his courtship between Hull and Brighton. He frequently stayed in London and became interested in conditions of the poor and the educational work in Stepney. In 1839, the year of his marriage, Charles Bromby was appointed Headmaster of the small Stepney Grammar School. Stepney Grammar School was situated in Tredegar Square, off Bow Road. Never a flourishing concern, it was bought by the governors of Coborn School in about 1875. Its history is obscure. Bromby remained there until late 1840 or 1841. He then returned to his father's church in Hull where he worked as a Reader.

His eldest child, Henry Bodley Bromby, was born in Hull in 1840. The other children, born in Cheltenham, were: Charles Hamilton (to become an Attorney-General in the Tasmanian Parliament), Mary Ellen (known as Minna), William, Gertrude (to become Mother Gertrude of the Convent of the Sisters of the Incarnation, Saltley, Birmingham), Edith, Agnes, one who died at birth, and George who died in infancy. As with J. H. Bromby's

3. No Brighton Directories exists for 1833-1839. The name of Dr. W. H. Bodley appears in the 1833 Directory but not in 1839. The name appears also in the 1835 Hull Directory. Mary Anne Bodley was born in Brighton ('Cheltenham Census Returns', 1851), but her brother, George Frederick, was born in Hull in 1827 (Dictionary of National Biography.)



Stepney Grammar School, London.

circa 1867.

photograph by courtesy: Stepney Borough Librarian
and the Bishop of Stepney.

family, the relationship in this family was rare and beautiful. The children and their parents were devoted to each other; on both sides there was a special note of reverence. Two great passions controlled the family; a love for Christ and a love for ^{one an} each other. Particularly in Hobart "the family happiness was unclouded; there was an unusual combination of high and serious purpose in life with boisterous merriment. The spirit of youth played over the house."⁴ Nothing was more touching than the friendship shown by Henry Bodley Bromby to the children, or the reverence reciprocated between Bromby and his eldest son. There was an especially close relation between the eldest son and his mother. After her death⁵ in 1885, he was never the same man. "I wonder," wrote a cousin to Mother Gertrude, "if you ever have time to think of the very jolly times we used to have in Hobart, both at Bishopscourt and at Henry's vicarage, when you were keeping house for him. How delightful Henry used to be at the Sunday evening suppers.....and Aunt Mary was so proud of him, and tried not to show it. And Uncle Charles - I can see him now - listening to it all with a half smile on his face but saying little."⁶

To Bromby's inheritance of family happiness was added the rich blessing of a devoted wife. Mary Bromby had known family affection and much elegance in her early life. Her father traced his descent from the family of Sir Thomas Bodley. The surname was derived from Budleigh (Bodley) Salterton in Devon. Two of the Bromby sons bore maternal family names: Henry Bodley Bromby and Charles Hamilton Bromby. Mrs. Bromby's mother had

4. J. H. B. Mace, Henry Bromby - a Memoir. (Lond., 1913.), p 20.

5. *ibid.*

6. *ibid.*

been born Mary Anne Hamilton. Mary Bromby's younger brother, George Frederick Bodley, R.A., Hon. D.C.L., Oxford, F.S.A., became one of the leading ecclesiastical architects of his day. At Brighton he had met George Gilbert Scott (later Sir Gilbert Scott) and had become his friend and pupil. A Bodley sister married Scott's brother. G. F. Bodley's architectural works included buildings at Magdalen College Oxford, King's College and ^{Queens} ~~Queen's~~ College Cambridge, and cathedrals in Washington, D.C., San Francisco and Tasmania (St David's). Both Charles and Mary Bromby were proud of their family heritage and they passed to their own children the same blessings of love and opportunity they had received themselves.

The Cheltenham Years

One of Bromby's closest friends was Frederick Robertson, the Brighton preacher. He had been curate at Christ Church, Cheltenham, when Francis Close was incumbent there. When St Paul's, Cheltenham, fell vacant, Robertson recommended Bromby to Close and the Simeon Trustees. On this recommendation Bromby was offered the cure. He accepted, and moved from Hull to Cheltenham in 1843. Cheltenham was Bromby's home until he left for Tasmania in September 1864. In 1846, he was appointed perpetual curate of St Paul's. He resigned in 1860, but continued to help at St Paul's until he left England. "He was appointed by Close under the impression that he belonged to the extreme Evangelical party," wrote⁷ Bishop Nixon in 1864, "but he could not row in the same boat with them."

In 1843, Cheltenham's population was about 36,500, but the town had no established industry. Many of the inhabitants worked small businesses or were servants to the wealthy people then beginning to settle in Cheltenham. During his stay at Cheltenham, Bromby was still influenced by his father's advice from Hull. He found scope for both pastoral and educational work, but he was never completely happy with the groups with whom he worked, nor was he strong enough to implement his "quite revolutionary ideas". He lacked the ability to tread the path of compromise which would have been generally acceptable to his superiors.

St Paul's Church, located in the worst neighbourhood, was deplor-

7. N. Nixon, The Pioneer Bishop in Van Diemen's Land. (Hobart, 1953.), p 57.

ably neglected. "Houses of the poor and needy as well as the criminal and vicious" surrounded the church. Its barn-like simplicity was "only equalled by the dullness of the services and the paucity of the worshippers".⁸ Step by step Bromby restored the church. He renovated it, lighted and ventilated it. He welcomed rich and poor alike. Soon, the services were remarkable for their warmth and zeal. By 1860 St Paul's was renowned for its crowded congregations and its choir, which became "unequalled in the country for power and precision."

Rev. C. H. Bromby worked hard in Cheltenham. He founded a boys' orphanage and built a new church school. He established one of the first Working Men's Clubs in the country. He was joint founder of Cheltenham College and later, though he took no public part and earned no name in the matter, of a "College for Young Ladies and Children," which was known as the Cheltenham Ladies' College. His most active interests were always in education and the poor; he became the first Principal of St Paul's College, which was established as a training College for masters and mistresses in national schools. Elizabeth Raikes called Bromby "...a man of large mental gifts...the leading mind in the 'forties among the younger clergy of Cheltenham...a man with a special perception of the intellectual needs of his day...All the great educational institutions of Cheltenham are indebted to his outlook and zeal."⁹ But not all of Cheltenham's leaders were appreciative of his policy of reform.

8. Cheltenham Times, 9 April 1864

9. E. Raikes, Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham, (Lond. 1908.), p 82.



St Paul's Church, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire.

Restored Interior.

Photograph by courtesy: Vicar of St Paul's.

Bromby enjoyed pioneering. He carefully organized the first Working Men's Clubs, and he explained their purpose in lectures. Bromby was an uncompromising champion of the rights of the working men to enjoy social relaxation and "appropriate and easy education". The Working Men's Club was the most popular institution in Cheltenham.¹⁰

Bromby was neither Founder nor Governor of the Cheltenham Ladies' College, but he strongly supported it. He was the friend and constant adviser of Dorothea Beale, who was Principal of the College from 1858 to 1906. In 1874, when Bromby tried to establish a Girls' College in Hobart along the lines of the Cheltenham Ladies' College, Miss Beale sent him Susan Mary Knott, one of her most distinguished pupils and teachers, as the first Headmistress. Unfortunately the Hobart College failed. Miss Knott¹¹ stayed eight years, then returned to Miss Beale's staff in Cheltenham.

Bromby's pre-eminent educational work was done at St Paul's Training College. The College was originally known as the Cheltenham Normal College or the Cheltenham Normal School. It started at Monson Villas, but was later shifted to St. Julia's. Bromby became Principal of the College in 1847, and full-time Principal in 1849. Events leading up to the appointment began in August 1845. One Samuel Codner who "for more than thirty years promoted education, twenty years of which in the North American Colonies", wrote to Francis Close about schools in America. He declared they had been conducted by Christian teachers belonging to the Church of England and

10. Cheltenham Times, 9 April 1864.

11. Cheltenham Ladies' College Magazine, Autumn 1917, p 76.

"supplied with a selection of judicious books". "If a similar course were adopted in this Kingdom," he wrote, "the morals of the working class would be greatly improved". Bromby was much interested in the idea.

Francis Close, Rector of Christ Church, Cheltenham, was a famous preacher and a man of remarkable evangelical fervour, who opposed most things, but especially horse-racing, the theatre and railway stations. Close took up Codner's suggestion and called a public meeting to plan for a "normal school for training persons of serious and religious impressions". The rules were "to secure the full doctrine of our Church, being clearly taught as expressed in the Articles of Justification by Faith". At the meeting, Close was Chairman, a position he held for many years; a provisional committee was formed, and Bromby was placed upon it. In October 1845, Bromby was appointed to the Executive Committee which was formed as support grew.

Regulations, which were published, stated that the purpose of the College was to "instruct pious persons as masters and mistresses upon Scriptural, Evangelical and protestant principles". Bromby organized "The Church of England Training School Association" to win support. His appeal for subscriptions and aristocratic patronage was so successful that by March 1847 success was in sight and "C. H. Bromby, having kindly offered to be the Honorary Principal of the Institution for the first year, the offer was most thankfully accepted".¹¹ As regards admission to the College..... "each candidate shall be expected to read and spell correctly, to write a

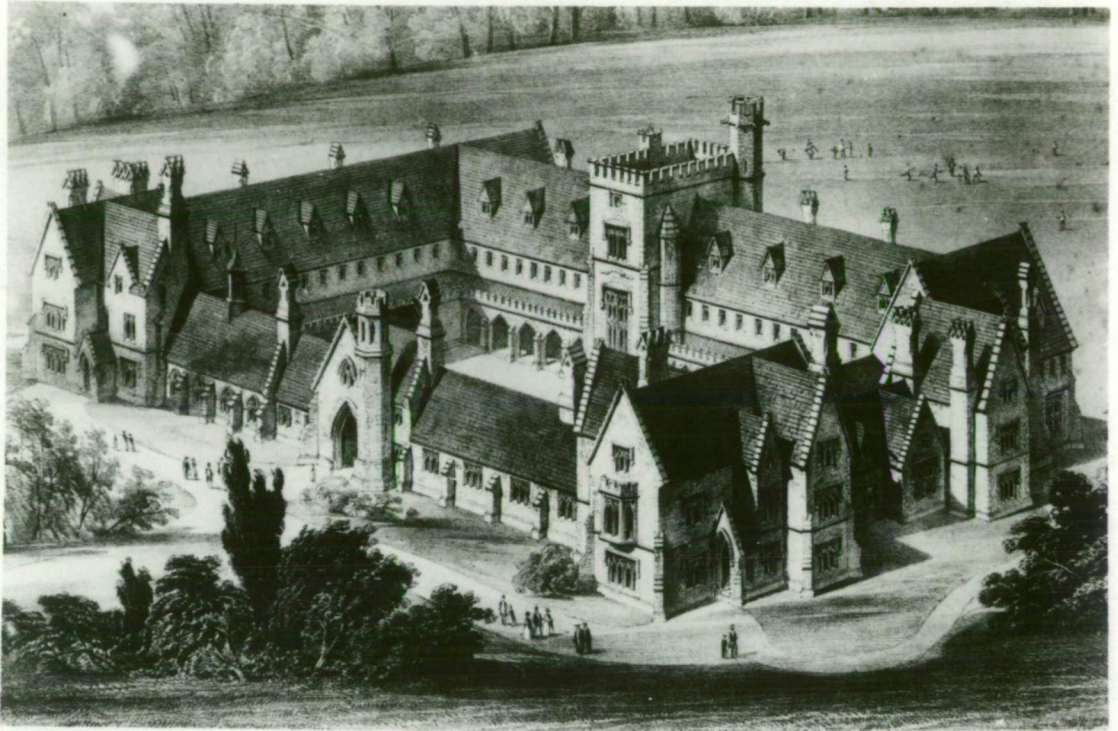
11. 'Minutes of the Provisional Committee, Cheltenham Normal College',
March 1847.

plain and legible hand, to understand the elementary rules of arithmetic, to profess a general acquaintance with the Old and New Testaments, and to know the Catechism and Articles of the Church of England".¹² The course of study was envisaged to last three years, but was reduced to two. The course was to include, "Holy Scriptures, Evidences of Christianity, the thirty-nine Articles, Liturgy and offices of the Church of England, Church History especially the History of the Reformation, Elements of Algebra, Trigonometry and Navigation, English Grammar and Reading, Geography and History, Writing and Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Theory and Practice of Teaching, Psalmody, Linear Drawing, Mapping, Geometry and Practical Mechanics"; and in case this might appear too modest a goal, the minutes add, "instruction may also be given in the rudiments of the French, Latin and Greek languages, and occasional lectures should be given on natural history and philosophy".¹³ Women were admitted from the beginning. The Training College opened with five students on 6 June 1847. When Bromby left in 1864, there were 175 students, both men and women, under his charge.

In October 1847, Bromby was appointed Principal at £250 annually, but there was mutual understanding that the arrangement was to be a temporary one. By December 1849, with forty students enrolled, the problem of a permanent Principal was urgent. Students were expected to attend St Paul's Church, as "their spiritual and moral guide during the week should be their

12. ibid.

13. ibid.



St Paul's Training College, Cheltenham,

1850.

Photograph by courtesy: Lecturer in History, St Paul's College.

pastor on the Lord's Day".¹⁴ But it was felt that the Principal should devote all his time during the week to the College. So the problem was clearly posed, how far was it possible to unite the office of Principal with the incumbency of St Paul's "not only without injury to the interests of either, but with benefit to both"?¹⁵ In 1849, Bromby's appointment became permanent at £400 per annum, plus a capitation fee for every student above forty. He could remain Vicar of St Paul's provided he "resign all beneficial interests.....and preach once only every Sunday in the Church".¹⁶ A few months later, Bromby complained that the deprivation of stipend from the incumbency was too harsh, and the Committee, without changing its attitude, relented enough to raise his salary to £500 per annum.

The Church of England Training School for Masters and Mistresses moved to its fine new buildings on 6 April 1850. C. H. Bromby himself had planned the buildings and supervised their construction. This in itself was a wonderful achievement. Under a Principal of "such broad and enlightened vision", the college was "easily first" in the country in examination results in a very short time.¹⁷ The following people were resident in the Normal School, in addition to the Principal, his wife and six children in March 1851: a Vice-President (Thomas Bodley), a Professor of Literature (William H. Knighton), a Porter and his wife, three Cooks, two Nurses, two housemaids, a general servant, a page, three junior scholars (including Henry and Charles Bromby), and forty-three students aged between

14. 'Minutes of the Executive Committee, Cheltenham Normal College', December 1849.

15. *ibid.*

16. *ibid.*

17. W. E. Beck, A History of the Cheltenham Training Colleges (St Paul and St Mary). (Bath, 1947), p 11.

18

sixteen and twenty-nine.

Control of the College was not always easy. The Executive Committee interfered, and Bromby on his part, would not readily submit to authority. Although it was resolved in 1849 that Bromby's rules should be recognized "in order to uphold the sole supremacy of the Principal",¹⁹ a monthly report was demanded of him. Bromby had correspondence with Close on the matter of discipline.²⁰ "Laws," wrote Bromby, "are for the disobedient. Those of our land fill many folios because our land is full of the disobedient. To enact laws, where laws are not wanted, is almost to challenge the good to deeds of evil." Bromby declaimed that what was wanted at the Normal College, where the Gospel was the rule, was the Gospel Abstract: "Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself". In framing regulations, the simple object should be to define the limits of individual liberty, "assuming that we deal with good motives and high principles". Bromby thought that to burden the code would be to insult the principles of the College. To multiply the laws would surely multiply the chance of daily breach. Bromby said,

"Where there is a known breach among the offenders which the most suspicious eye cannot detect, there is an end of all moral discipline, all Christian government."²¹

The Executive Committee doubted such wisdom. Bromby did not deny the Com-

-
18. 'Census Returns', Cheltenham, 30 March 1851.
 19. 'Minutes of the Executive Committee, Cheltenham Normal College', December 1849.
 20. 'Correspondence relating to Cheltenham Normal College'. (Records' Office, Gloucester.)
 21. 'Minutes of the Executive Committee, Cheltenham Normal College', December 1849.

mittee the right to frame new laws, but he uttered ominous words, "Then I²² will judge whether I feel myself capable of carrying them out." Friction issued from interpretation of liberty.

Soon after the move to the new buildings, some members of the Executive Committee became alarmed when informers brought them the news that²³ some students had attended a "Romish Chapel". A special Committee Meeting was called to demand a report from Bromby on the facts and the steps taken to prevent a recurrence. On 3 February 1851, another complaint was expressed. Bromby had "a school for tradesmen's sons within the walls of the training college". The Committee expressed "their regret that an opportunity had not been given them to consider so grave a measure....." It requested that the plan should not be further extended until by conference with the Principal the members could be satisfied that it was desirable. Bromby had not attended the first special meeting. The Committee requested his attendance at a second special meeting on 13 February "to confer upon this and other matters". Clearly, Bromby was not having things all his own way. He had not measured his innovations against the inflexible and puritanical outlook of his superiors. And his own determination brought inevitable opposition.

Before the second special Committee Meeting was held, the Annual General Meeting of the 200 Governors and Vice-Presidents took place on 6 February. Close delivered the report, making no mention of Bromby but giving much praise to the "indefatigable" treasurer and to Almighty God,

22. ibid.

23. ibid, February 1851.

"That He had spared them to see the College placed on a permanent footing, taking a leading place among the Normal Colleges of the country; and, as they thankfully acknowledge in this the special blessing and favour of God, so they commit the future into His hands.....that the sanctifying and illuminating grace of The Holy Spirit may be poured abundantly upon the Committee, the officers, instructors and students of the College.....that they may discharge all their arduous duties in the fear of God, looking to Him for success and ascribing all the glory to Him, to Whom alone it is due".²⁴

Poor Bromby; was he a mere "instructor"?

On 13 February, Bromby reported the reprimand of those who had attended Romish chapels; and, as for the tradesmen's sons, he hoped to found a practising school for the students within the college instead of using the parish school - a scheme, incidentally, that was carried out and lasted till 1953, when the building was required for student expansion. The Committee relented and expressed qualified approval. Reconciliation was on the way, due to Bromby's extraordinary ability as a teacher.

At the October meeting the Committee met Professor Moseley, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors, who had recently visited the College. Moseley expressed great satisfaction with the state of the College and more particularly his great admiration of the qualities which Bromby brought to his office. All now went well with Bromby. In February 1852, Francis Close reported, amidst thanks to the treasurer and praise to the Almighty, that he believed "the educational, moral and religious results which have flowed from the College since its FOUNDATION must, under God, be chiefly attributed to the untiring zeal, ability and piety of the Rev. Principal

and his coadjutors...."²⁵

In November 1852, Moseley again inspected the College. He praised the pleasing moral aspect of the students and their air of cheerful subordination. Then he declared that "the Principal does too much for his strength. The nature of his labours is intensely stimulating to a man who has his heart in it...."²⁶ Moseley thought the variety of Bromby's lectures alone very exhausting. He advised the Committee to relieve Bromby from some of his labours.²⁷ The Committee replied by suggesting that Bromby appoint a new Vice-Principal to help him. This he did. However, Bromby could not always obtain immediately appointments he desired. In 1859, for example, he recommended the appointment of Rev. F. Blunt "to an office in the College." The Committee was divided and feeling was aroused. The nomination was withdrawn. But ten months later, Bromby recommended Blunt again. The Committee gave way when Bromby declared, "I could, if the Committee desire it, devolve from myself the subjects of Milton and English Literature and Reading upon him.....and charge myself more exclusively with doctrinal teaching."

In June 1853, Bromby persuaded the Committee to rescind the previous arrangement by which he had given up all beneficial interest in the proceeds of the incumbency of St Paul's Church, though retaining the title. He pointed out that after paying the expenses of the Church and for a second curate to do his work, there was a surplus. The Committee gracious-

25. A.G.M., 19 February 1852.

26. A.G.M., February 1853.

27. *ibid.*

ly declared he might keep it.

The 1853 Annual General Meeting reported 143 students, seventy-nine males and sixty-four females. The Meeting attributed "the extraordinary measure of success which had crowned the efforts of the College chiefly, under God, to the conscientious and valuable labours of The Rev. Principal, the Vice-Principal, and the masters and teachers, both male and female, who have co-operated with him."²⁸ In 1853, Moseley reported that Scriptural knowledge occupied the highest place in the College and that the marks at the Christmas Examination (External) were higher than in any other college. In September 1853, Bromby complained to the Committee that the accommodation in his house was insufficient for his growing family, so the library was converted into two rooms for his use. As late as 1860, Her Majesty's Inspectors reported "the library is deficient" and added:²⁹ "The men require here as elsewhere more humanizing influences."

In February 1854, there was optimism and delight over the continued success: 462 teachers had already been trained, "scattered over the Kingdom or labouring in foreign missions", 104 men and seventy-three women were in residence.³⁰ In April 1854, the Committee struck a disturbing note. A "memorial" to Bromby contained these words:

".....fully appreciating the value of the services of our excellent friend.....to whom God appears to have given many excellent gifts, qualifying him in a singular manner for the fulfilment of his arduous duties.....we desire affectionately to request him to relax his efforts for a

28. ibid.

29. 'Correspondence relating to Cheltenham Normal College'. (Records' Office, Gloucester.)

30. A.G.M., February 1854.

season, and for two or three months to retire to a foreign country or to some place where he may not be tempted to use his voice, as it is our deliberate opinion, as we believe it is that of his medical adviser, that humanly speaking nothing short of this will, under God, perfectly restore his health and ensure to us a longer continuance of his invaluable efforts for the good of his charge."

31

Several shades of meaning can be read into this effusion. The Committee had long been dissatisfied with Bromby's conception of discipline. Its members saw in the Principal's state of health a possible means of relief. Bromby, unlike most on the Committee, wanted to trust his fellow-men. To the students, he displayed Christian toleration and confidence greater than did others on the Committee. Yet Her Majesty's Inspector, in 1854, was struck by the right footing upon which the discipline was established. Elsewhere Moseley had seen "assumptions on the part of masters causing corresponding antagonisms on the part of students", but at Cheltenham "there was a sense of duty and a moral growth. The Principal's plan undoubtedly answered the need". Moseley added that the system that had failed elsewhere was "the assertion of great authority on all occasions." He believed that the idea that students, in order to be kept humble, were to be kept under and kept in their places was a fatal error, productive of antagonisms. He complimented Bromby on the support he always gave his students. Despite this support, however, some students had to go. In 1854, a certain Darwent entered College for a second time, "not perfectly sober". Bromby suspended him; the Committee resolved to dismiss him. Another time, a student named Gould was found guilty "of much untruthfulness". Bromby dismissed him; the Committee wanted him

31. 'Minutes of the Executive Committee, Cheltenham Normal College', April 1854.

suspended. But not many such cases occurred.

In April 1855, Moseley reported for the last time. He wrote,
"The Principal is the best teacher I have ever heard."³² As regards
others on the staff he said their knowledge was deficient; increased
salaries might raise the standard. Teachers should be masters of the
subjects they taught. He did not restrict this complaint to the Chelten-
ham College.

In May 1859, the Principal was given £100 "as an acknowledgement
of distinguished services" and "as the state of the funds will now admit
it."³³ In October 1859, Her Majesty's Inspectors again reported on discip-
line, saying that Bromby's method at Cheltenham was "to give great liberty,
yet to punish severely, if rarely." In April 1860, reflecting the in-
creasing military-mindedness or imperialism in the country, the Committee
allowed the students to form a Rifle Corps; Bromby objected to this.³⁴
Strengthened by the approval of inspectors, Bromby became more and more
dissatisfied with the College governors.

Meanwhile, Bromby had taken an active part in agitating for the
extension of elementary education amongst the poor. He was in the fore-
front of educational workers in England between 1850 and 1860. He readily
supported the government's elementary policy of extending a more liberal
elementary education to the poor, and of building up training colleges to
fit poorer students for teaching posts.³⁵ Kaye-Shuttleworth, the Minister

32. A.G.M., February, 1856.

33. 'Minutes of the Executive Committee, Cheltenham Normal College',
May 1859.

34. *ibid*, April 1860.

35. H.C. Barnard, A History of English Education, 2nd ed. (Lond., 1961.), p. 111
see also J.C. Fitch, "Why is a New Code Wanted?" in E. Ackroyd,
Factory Education and its Extension. (Lond., 1861.)

for Education, retired in 1849. Although the Newcastle Commission (1858) made recommendations in 1861 for "the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction" along Kaye-Shuttleworth's lines, Robert Lowe, the new Vice-President of the Education Department^{Committee in P.C.}, disapproved. A liberal free-trader, he wished to apply to education his economic theories. He determined to base the Education Department's grants on the attendance of pupils under certified teachers and subject to results of the inspectors' examination of the children in the three R's. "Hitherto," said Lowe, "we have been living under a system of bounties and protection. Now we propose to have a little free-trade." The teachers' pension scheme, grants for apparatus, and pupil-teachers' stipends were withdrawn. The period 1861:1863 was an alarming one for the Normal College. The Government, under Palmerston as Prime Minister and Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer, supported Lowe. The "Revised Code" of 1862 was prepared. The Government determined also to retrench the grant system to training colleges. Generous sums given the Cheltenham Normal College, on the basis of success in public examinations, ceased; and, instead, financial aid was now offered on condition that it did not exceed seventy-five per cent of the total expenses of the College. The plan was to encourage the Victorian ideal for self-help, especially for the poor. The Normal College's income depended on ninety-five per cent grants, the rest being contributed by subscriptions and insignificant fees. All the Committee were up in arms, predicting a serious curtailment of the colleges' activities. Already retrenchment in expenditure had been made, and Bromby's "extravagance" questioned.

Pamphlets and complaints were printed and circulated far and wide among important people. Two printed letters by Bromby received wide publicity. The first was A Letter to the Right Hon. Robert Lowe M.P., containing strictures upon the False Assumptions and Inadequate Remedies of the Revised Education Code. By using facts and figures, Bromby tore the Code to pieces. Then he objected on moral grounds:

"The moral results that are ignored by the Code, and by The Times, which comes to its rescue, are borne witness to by the Newcastle Royal Commissioners with an unhesitating candour that should rejoice the heart of every friend of the real education of the poor, upon whose benevolence the present school system has been reared. We hear indeed of defective reading and arithmetic in the lower classes of home-neglected children and it would be astonishing if it were not so, but what of the facts sufficiently established that the moral influences of the primary schools have lowered the poor rates and diminished crime?"

Bromby suggested means for improving existing regulations, providing more help for rural schools, and adopting recommendations made by Newcastle and his Commissioners. Bromby's Letter concluded:

"The Christian philanthropist and the political economist take common cause. This great nation needs an intelligent operative class. The history of our strikes, paralysing capital; the productive rivalry of foreign nations, where cultivated industry and the facilities which steam affords for transporting our coal and metals compensate for want of natural resources; the habits of our manufacturing people, always more degraded as wages are higher - all point to the fact that we need an engine which does something more than take account of our people as "Hands, machines or chattels." We need something which develops their sense of responsibility, refines their taste, purifies their habits and, above all, places them in a condition to receive higher and holier impressions. Such an engine is Christian Education."

The second letter was To the Right Hon. Earl Granville, Lord

President of the Privy Council, (1861). In it, Bromby stated that the Revised Code was exciting something approaching panic among all who were interested in the work of National Education. He listed allegations. He declaimed that the Code would undermine the work of Training Colleges and close one fifth of the dormitories. Voluntary financial support was not enough. To send forth a race of raw schoolmasters to the work, undisciplined, unsoftened and unimpressed with the missionary character of their office, was to undo all those good things which, "effected in such a short time, had exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine". Bromby finished the letter by requesting the Committee of the Privy Council to wait until the matter had been discussed in parliament. Bromby received unqualified support from Ashley Cooper, ~~the~~ Earl of Shaftesbury, President of the Normal College and step-son of the Prime Minister.

The Executive Committee of Cheltenham Normal College decided to petition parliament. The Committee felt that "a blow had been struck³⁶ that perils the efficiency of the whole education of the country." On the other side, Her Majesty's Inspectors said in 1861 that the female department of the College was getting "decidedly more than Parliament or Government ever contemplated." Apparently, in this case, the examination results were so good that income exceeded expenditure.

³⁷ The "Revised Code" became law. What Bromby predicted came to pass. The quality of teachers declined. The withdrawal of pupil-

36. 'Minutes of the Executive Committee, Cheltenham Normal College', March 1862.

37. H. C. Barnard, op cit, pll3, et seq.

reference? teacher grants caused a serious decrease in teachers and efficiency. The standard of admission to training colleges was lowered. "The Revised Code has constructed nothing," said Kay-Shuttleworth, "it has only pulled down." Bromby was disappointed. "I deprecate all wish to hinder the progress of any improvement which the administrators of the present system deem necessary, " he wrote, "but with great earnestness and in the name of a progressive civilisation, which has engaged in various ways my active sympathies for many years, I beg you to consider what I say." 38

He could not convince the government. The ill-effects of the "Revised Code" spread throughout England.

The Cheltenham Normal College struggled through this period of difficulty. Highbury Training College surrendered and amalgamated, together with their London property, with St. Paul's. Fees were increased, subscriptions raised. Other societies came to the rescue. Yet while trepidation triumphed, Bromby took his opportunity, or courage, in his hands.

Stirred, no doubt, by a variety of reasons, Bromby wrote to the Executive Committee on 4 October 1862 that private reasons, combined with the great uncertainty hanging over the College, had induced him to seek preferment in the Church, which might lead to his resignation of his office; and some of his friends were even then bringing his case be-

38. C. H. Bromby, A Letter to the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, M.P., containing strictures upon the false assumptions and inadequate remedies of the Revised Education Code. (Lond., 1861), pl.

39

fore the Premier with a view to such preferment. The Committee received the announcement of the possible resignation with "deepest regret". The educational prosperity of the College had been, under the Divine blessing, entirely the result of his invaluable service. They entered warmly into the views expressed by him in his letter and would be happy if they could in anyway conduce to the success of the application of his friends for preferment in the Church. It was therefore further resolved that the Secretary be directed to address the President of the College, in their name, requesting him to take the case of the Principal into consideration with the hope that he might be able to support his interest in influential quarters.

40

The President of the Normal College was Antony Ashley Cooper, the ⁵Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury (b.1801;d.1885.). He was the most noted philanthropist of his day, and had laid the foundation stone of the College. He was a very cordial and earnest supporter of the evangelical cause. He held no political office, keeping himself rather aloof, but his step-father was the Prime Minister of England and "in many confidential matters he was adviser of Lord Palmerston and especially in the filling of vacant bishoprics."

41

The College continued to prosper. In March 1863, Bromby reported it full again. On 1 September 1863, it was resolved "that after a careful investigation of the affairs of the College, the meeting records with devout thankfulness to Him Who has watched over its interests

-
39. 'Correspondence relating to Cheltenham Normal College'. (Records' Office, Gloucester.)
40. 'Minutes of the Executive Committee, Cheltenham Normal College', October 1862.
41. D.N.B., Vol XI1 (Lond., 1887.), pp 133:137

from the beginning, that the present educational and financial position of the College is in every respect highly satisfactory."⁴²

Preferment, Consecration, Departure

Friends continued to seek Bromby's preferment. While the Earl of Shaftesbury was investigating avenues at home, overseas events were complementary. Bromby's elder brother, John Edward, was now in Australia. From being an assistant master at Bristol College he had become its Acting-Principal, before leaving to conduct his own school in Clifton. In 1847, J. E. Bromby was made Principal of Elizabeth College, Guernsey, and, in 1854, he became Senior Curate at his father's church in Hull. In 1857, he was appointed first Headmaster of the Melbourne Church of England Grammar School and, on 1 February 1858, he arrived in Melbourne. He was in constant touch with Cheltenham. Dr. J. E. Bromby distinguished himself by his scholarship, singular force of mind and loftiness of character.⁴³ He was a close friend of Bishop Perry, Evangelical bishop of Melbourne, who regarded him as a loyal, efficient and dependable colleague.⁴⁴ Bishop Perry was a benefactor of Melbourne Grammar School, and an enlightened Christian educationalist. He supported the findings of the Newcastle Commission, objected to the Revised Code and admired C. H. Bromby's work in Cheltenham.

42. A.G.M., 1 September 1863.

43. D.Blair, Cyclopaedia of Australia. (Melb., 1881.), p 63.

44. R.W.B. Wilmot (ed.), op cit, p lxiii, et seq.

Perry knew of the pending resignation of Francis Russell Nixon, first Bishop of Tasmania. In June 1861, Nixon had been granted eight-⁴⁵een months home leave of absence from the beginning of 1862. He left Hobart in the "Percy"⁴⁶ on 20 February 1862. Although he expressed a⁴⁷ desire to return,⁴⁸ family separations distressed him. Moreover, he was ill and tired:

"I have known what it was to be misunderstood and my words, actions and motives misrepresented; and health and spirits have been broken in bearing up against what I have had to endure....."⁴⁹

On 7 January 1863, he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury resigning the See:

"At the proper time, I may be allowed to hazard an opinion as to the qualities and powers which the present condition of the Diocese seem to require at the Bishop's hand....."

On 19 August 1863, Nixon wrote to the Governor, Gore Browne, intimating his resignation. The Governor wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, on 19 October 1863, accepting the resignation and asking for a successor. He included a request from the Northern members of the Tasmanian Synod that the new bishop should not have previously resided in Australia.⁵⁰ Nixon's resignation became effective 17 December 1863.

The search for a successor was a slow one. On 18 March 1864,

-
45. EC/2/10 - State Library, Tasmania.
 46. Mercury, 21 February 1862.
 47. Mercury, 20 February 1862.
 48. C.S.D. 4/16/146. (State Library, Tasmania.)
 49. Mercury, 23 January 1862.
 50. C.S.D. 4/16/146. (State Library, Tasmania.)

the Church News for the Diocese of Tasmania reported dissatisfaction with the "dilatatory and unsatisfactory movements of the Colonial office and the Duke of Newcastle..... All that can be ascertained after repeated applications is that 'the Duke is very anxious to make the appointment and is taking the necessary steps to that end'...."

Many names were mentioned. Friends of Rev. R. D. Harris the Rector of The High School in Hobart, supported by Archdeacon R. R. Davies of Hobart, presented his name to the Duke of Newcastle.⁵¹ Rev. J. P. Gell, of Berkshire, formerly Warden of Christ's College, Hobart, wrote to Archdeacon Davies, on 25 August 1863, that the bishopric had not yet been settled. He said that Ewing, formerly a Tasmanian clergyman, wanted to get it for the Bishop of Mauritius, but there were objections to taking him from his post there; Marriott, formerly Archdeacon of Hobart, proposed Reibey, of northern Tasmania, but that again would imply that all were prepared to elect him. The Nixons named⁵² Allnutt, but it was an uncertain suggestion. Gell proposed Davies. Canon Robert Allwood was often mentioned. The Church News, of 19 August 1863, announced that he had been nominated but, on 18 September 1863 and 20 October 1863, intimated that there was little likelihood of the choice being made. Allwood, a Cambridge graduate, had been in Sydney since 1839, and was highly regarded by Bishop Broughton. He was on leave in England in 1853 and 1854 and made a good impression on clergy and politi-

51. Church News, 19 August 1863.

52. B.C. (Christ College, Hobart.)

at the reference
the before 15 June
at the time

53

cians. Perry, who knew Tasmania's difficulties, particularly in respect to churchmanship, and who had been in England when various names were mooted for the bishopric, persuaded John Edward Bromby to ask his brother to apply for the Bishopric of Tasmania. The application was successful. The Duke of Newcastle, as his last official act before his death, appointed Charles Henry Bromby Bishop of Tasmania, on 31 March 1864. "I have heard from Melbourne that Mr. Bromby is to be our Bishop," wrote Rev. H. P. Kane. "I hope not, for appointed as he has been by Simeon trustees, he must be an extreme party man."⁵⁴ On 16 June, Kane wrote again, "I observe that our bishop is appointed. His nieces from Melbourne have been here. They speak of their Uncle Charles as a good Churchman, though not a high-churchman."⁵⁵

Archdeacon Davies wrote to the Colonial Secretary in Hobart, 20 June 1864, that Bromby was worried about his stipend - the uncertainty of payment of that portion of his salary received under the State-Aid Bill, which was recently passed by the Tasmanian Parliament. "It is impossible to expect any clergyman to give up £900 a year and residence in England," he wrote, "and on arrival here to find that he has been deprived of one moiety of his income." The Colonial Secretary replied that there could

-
53. P. Mennell, The Dictionary of Australasian Biography, 1855-1892 p.8.
54. B.C. (Christ College, Hobart.), H.P. Kane/R.R. Davies, 6 May 1864.
55. *ibid*, H.P. Kane/R.R. Davies, 16 June 1864.

be no doubt but that the Royal Assent would be refused to any Bill proposing to abolish State Aid, without a clause or schedule, protecting the interests of the Bishop Designate.⁵⁶ But Bromby had already decided to go to Tasmania. The Cheltenham Examiner announced his acceptance of the appointment, 13 April 1864, and Bromby wrote his resignation to the Executive Committee of the Normal College on 14 April. The letter of resignation showed the man's humility:

"I earnestly and distinctly trust and believe that the Hand which has conducted the College through many difficulties to great results will point out a successor to myself who shall inherit my own loving interest and avoid my many failures."

The immediate encomium is worth quoting, being the first of many such.

Bromby was profusely thanked:

"The Committee has received with very great regret the announcement that you will be compelled ere long to resign the office which you have held for so many years to the inestimable advantage of the College and of the students who have been trained in it and in thorough harmony with the Committee. They cannot forget that from the very foundation of the College its progress and prosperity under God's blessing have been to a very great extent due to the fidelity and ability with which its government has been administered by you."⁵⁷

The Annual Report of 1864 adds the remark.."labours, which for a considerable time were gratuitous"....to a somewhat similar laudatory expression of appreciation and gratitude.⁵⁸

The announcement of the appointment was received with satisfac-

56. C.S.D., 4/16/146. (State Library, Tasmania.)

57. 'Minutes of The Executive Committee, Cheltenham Normal College', April 1864.

58. A.G.M., 1864.

tion in Tasmania. Bromby was called "a scholar from the venerable seats of learning", "an author tried and proved", "a useful parish priest,"⁵⁹ "a man of influence and a man of name". Charles Henry Bromby was the⁶⁰ first bishop born in Hull, and the first Vicar of St Paul's, Cheltenham, to become a bishop.

reference?
Bromby was consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral on St Peter's Day, 29 June 1864.⁶¹ Francis Jeune, the new Bishop of Peterborough, and Samuel Edjai Growther of West Africa, the new Bishop of the Niger Territory, were consecrated with him. The Colonial Church Chronicle reported that the consecration of a Home, a Colonial and a Missionary Bishop was an event as remarkable and stirring as any which Canterbury Cathedral had known. The Archbishop of Canterbury was assisted by the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln and Gloucester and Bristol, the Dean of Gloucester, the Bishop of Victoria (Hong Kong), and Bishop Nixon. The sermon from 2 Peter iii:2,3 was preached by Henry Mansel, Professor of Philosophy at Oxford.

Bishop Bromby returned to Cheltenham and, after many attempts to settle a passage, arranged to sail in the True Briton (G. Bawn, 1,046 tons), which was then on its return passage to England and was due to leave again from Gravesend for Melbourne some time in September 1864. For the remaining three months, Bromby was not idle. He conferred with Bishop Nixon and Archdeacon T. H. Reibey, who was then in England. He

59. Church News, 20 June 1864; Launceston Times, 19 July 1864.

60. J. J. Sheahan, op cit, p 659

61. See Kentish Gazette, 5 July 1864.
Guardian, 6 July 1864
Cheltenham Times, 2 July 1864.

issued an address on behalf of his See. With grants withdrawn from Tasmania by the great home societies in favour of younger colonies, Bromby appealed for funds. He sought support for a mission to Tasmania's scattered inhabitants, "especially in Bass's Straits." He asked for £5000 as the home contribution for a new cathedral in Hobart. He made it known that G. F. Bodley, his architect brother-in-law, had proposed a plan for a cathedral which might cost £20,000, and that he, Bromby, would adopt his recommendation of erecting the nave first at a little more than a third of the cost. Bishop Nixon supported him by making an appeal from Bolton Percy Rectory, Tadcaster, for funds for the Straits' Missions. Bromby travelled widely, pleading for his diocese. He spoke in his father's church in Hull, at Cheltenham, Brighton and London. His own church, St Paul's, was crowded Sunday by Sunday until, at his final service on 18 September 1864, 2,000 people gathered to bid him farewell. The Working Men's Club presented a testimonial to "one of the firmest and most valuable friends of the working classes." Past and present students of the Cheltenham Normal College and St Mary's Hall, the Female Students' College, expressed thanks for his "active efforts to counter-act the ill effects of the late changes introduced into the Government system of education."

Bromby and his family sailed from Plymouth on 27 September 1864. His eldest son, Henry Bodley Bromby, who had been recently ordained by the Bishop of Oxford, accompanied him as his chaplain. His second son, Charles Hamilton Bromby, stayed in England for another ten years. He had just

entered the Inner Temple to study law. Bromby left England with mixed feelings. A reformer at heart, if not always a judicious one, his efforts had not always been received with favour. However, his new sphere of work offered apparently unlimited scope for one who was genuinely interested in the under-privileged classes. He regarded the "call" as a missionary "call", and he went with the blessing of those who knew him best, and particularly of his parents in Hull.

Chapter Four

^ TASMANIAN SEE, AND THE NIXON LEGACY

Tasmanian Church. 1804:1843

The work of the Church of England in Tasmania began in 1804, when the Colony was founded as a penal settlement. Robert Knopwood, who was the first Colonial Chaplain for the whole of the island, conducted the first service in Hobart on 26 February. He gave thanks that the convict expedition had arrived safely in "this delightful place where the Almighty has been pleased to establish us"¹. By 1841, the year prior to the creation of the Tasmanian See, it was obvious that the Church establishment needed strengthening. Eighteen clergy were insufficient for a population of 35,000, including convicts. Small townships or communities were scattered over the Colony. They sprang up from South to North, in the East and the North-West. The early Tasmanian Church was an impotent adjunct to the Colony's Administration.

Rev. James Youl became Chaplain for the North in 1819. His work was centred on Launceston and George Town. He ministered there until his death in 1827. Rev. Dr. William Bedford succeeded Knopwood in Hobart in 1823. Knopwood retired, aged sixty-two, to look after the district outside Hobart, known as Clarence Plains. Bedford took charge of St David's parish in Hobart. He ministered in schools and penitentiaries, and was prominent in the life of the young settlement. By 1830,

1. Rev. Robert Knopwood's First Sermon.

there were eight clergymen in the Church of England in Tasmania. They were:

Rev. Dr. W. Bedford,	St David's, Hobart.
Rev. W. Garrard,	Pittwater.
Rev. H. R. Robinson,	New Norfolk.
Rev. R. Knopwood,	Clarence Plains.
Rev. J. Norman	Female Orphan School, Hobart.
Rev. Dr. W. H. Browne,	Launceston.
Rev. R. R. Davies,	Norfolk Plains, Latour.
Rev. Dr. R. C. Drought,	Green Ponds.

The early clergy in Tasmania were Government Chaplains. They were appointed primarily to work among the convicts. As "religious instructors", their salaries were paid by the Imperial Government. In 1833, Lt-Governor George Arthur, realising the need of some kind of organisation in Tasmania's Church, requested the Home authorities for "at least a rural dean". He wrote:

"It is just as easy for an Archdeacon resident in England to superintend the spiritual affairs of Gibraltar, as for an Archdeacon resident in New South Wales to superintend affairs in Van Diemen's Land."²

Rev. Philip Palmer was appointed Rural Dean in 1833. Jealousy immediately sprang up between Palmer and Bedford. Bedford was Palmer's senior in Tasmania by ten years, but Palmer, being a dignitary of the Church, received a higher salary. The Tasmanian Church, particularly in Hobart, was nurtured on clerical discord. St David's parish was divided, and Palmer was placed in charge of a new parish, called "Trinity". The new Rural Dean's ecclesiastical establishment was meagre. It consisted of:

"seven Chaplains, who were each paid £250 per annum; one Chaplain, at £2.2.0. per week; nine horses; two Catechists,

2. Quoted, W. R. Barrett, History of the Church of England in Tasmania. (Hobart, 1942.), p 1.

at £100 per annum; two Lecturers; Clerks, paid £135; one Organist at Hobart Town; two Clock Regulators, each paid at £20 per annum; three Sextons, one paid at £15 and two at £10; thirteen Church Sweepers; twenty-eight Schoolmasters and nineteen Schoolmistresses."³

Moreover, in 1834, money grants were recommended for the erection of new churches at Hobart ("Trinity"); near Hobart, at New Town ("St John's"); and in the rural districts centred on Oatlands, Ross, Hamilton, Richmond and Campbelltown. Church extensions were planned for Norfolk Plains (known now as Longford), a "parsonage house" for Campbelltown and a College for Hobart.

This is incorrect
At this time, Australia was, for ecclesiastical purposes, part of the diocese of Calcutta; but the Bishop in India did not bother himself about such a distant part of his diocese. On 2 October 1824, after some agitation, Letters Patent had constituted New South Wales, which included Tasmania, an archdeaconry. The first two Archdeacons were Thomas Hobbes Scott and William Grant Broughton, both of who visited Tasmania. In 1835, New South Wales and Tasmania, Ceylon and the Presidency of Madras, were separated from the Calcutta diocese and made into a separate See, known as the Bishopric of Madras. On 18 January, 1836, the Archdeaconry of New South Wales was created a Bishopric, with Broughton as the first Bishop of Australia. Soon after, on 17 March 1836, Tasmania was made a separate archdeaconry, with Rev. William Hutchins

3. 'Government Estimates for the Colony of Van Diemen's Land',

1834, quoted, *ibid*, pp 4-5.

its first Archdeacon. Hutchins received £250 in addition to the ordinary salary. The office of Rural Dean, which had been provisionally conferred on Palmer, was no longer required, and ceased. Other clergymen who served in Tasmania in the 'thirties were: Rev. W. Bedford, Junior Campbelltown; Rev. J. B. Taylor, New Town; and Rev. T. J. Ewing, first Rector at St George's, Battery Point, Hobart and then Rector at New Town. In 1840, Rev. Henry Phibbs Fry, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, was appointed to succeed Ewing at St George's Church, near the battery in Hobart. In the year 1840:1841, a joint committee in Tasmania of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel assisted five clergy to come to Tasmania. The clergy were stationed at Bothwell, Hamilton, Avoca, George Town and Evandale, which were all communities serving rural areas.

Hutchins, as Archdeacon, had the task of extending the Church in the face of limited finances. Some provisions had been made in Government estimates for ecclesiastical establishments, including chaplaincies and house rents. Land Grants regulations of 1825, 1829 and 1831 provided further subsistence. But the "Church Act" (1 Vict. No 16), of 1837, gave Hutchins most encouragement. The 1837 Act aimed at "making provision for the support of certain ministers of the Christian religion and to promote the erection of places of Divine worship". The "certain ministers" were those of the Church of England, Roman Catholic and Presbyterian denominations, who had the requisite numbers in their congregations. Hutchins was able to increase the number of Church of England churches and schools

at this time; but the power of government authorities over religious bodies was also increased. The government even claimed the right to issue marriage licences and to grant permits to clergy to officiate. Yet, at this stage, there was little argument between the Church and Colonial authorities. In all matters Colonial, the Imperial Government was autocratic.

Hutchins died in June 1841. The Imperial Government thought the time was opportune to make Tasmania a separate diocese, with its own Bishop and organisation.

F. R. Nixon and his early Episcopate: Church Discipline and Church Schools

The year 1842 was an important year for the Colonial Church. The Diocese of Tasmania was created by Letters Patent, dated 21 August 1842. Gibraltar, Antigua and Guiana also became separate Sees. Antigua and Guiana had been taken out of the Diocese of Barbadoes, which had been formed in 1824. The men chosen for the new bishoprics were: F. R. Nixon (Tasmania), G. Tomlinson (Gibraltar), D. G. Davis (Antigua) and W. F. Austin (Guiana). These men, together with T. Parry, the new Bishop of Barbadoes, were consecrated at the same service, in Westminster Abbey, on St Bartholomew's Day, 24 August 1842.

Francis Russell Nixon came into his See by right of friendly preference. He was a member of a family which was well-known and well-connected. The second son of Rev. Robert Nixon, D.D., F.S.A., F. R. Nixon was born at North Gray, Kent, in 1803. Receiving his early educa-

tion at the Merchant Taylor's School, he later went to St John's College, Oxford, of which College he became a Fellow. After ordination, Nixon served for a time as Chaplain at Naples; afterwards, he held the living of Ash-next-Sandwich, in Kent. He was one of the six preachers attached to Canterbury Cathedral. Nixon was favoured by William Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury. When, in his mid-thirties, Nixon wrote a book The Catechism of the Church of England, he dedicated it to Howley. Through this book, Nixon received early recognition as a scholar and a churchman. So impressed was Howley that he chose Nixon for nomination to the Crown as first Bishop of Tasmania.

Nixon arrived in Tasmania in June 1843. He brought with him Rev. F. A. Marriott as his chaplain and archdeacon. Nixon was a man of medium height, with a shock of black, glossy hair falling in curls on each side of his head. He was a musician, writer and artist. His hobby was photography, then in its early stages. He soon became a familiar sight in Hobart as, accompanied by his favourite dogs, he drove his pair of black horses. His physical strength was equal to the demands of all the rough travelling of the early days of Tasmania. His second book, describing his missionary trips, was widely read and, at the beginning of Bromby's episcopate, it excited interest in the conditions of both natives and half-castes on the islands in Bass Straits.⁴

By the time Nixon arrived in the Colony, the number of clergy had increased to twenty-three, and the population to 57,420. The convicts numbered 20,332. Nixon considered the clergy insufficient in quantity, and many of them lacking in quality. He was particularly opposed to

4. F. R. Nixon, The Cruise of the Beacon. (Lond, 1857.)

Bedford and Palmer. Nixon wrote that Bedford, who was the Senior Chaplain, had been ordained

"upon the presumption that any ignoramus, provided that he could but read and write, and was possessed with fair average qualifications, was good enough for the Colonies".⁵

For many years, Bedford had had everything his own way. Nixon said that Bedford, had been a 'Triton among the minnows'; but the Colony had advanced at a more rapid pace than Bedford's own intellectual requirements.

"Nevertheless," wrote Nixon, "the old man is shrewd, intelligent and firm - but headstrong, indiscreet and vain..... He has no notion of fostering a congregation; not an idea of systematic visiting of the poor and sick, not a scrap of knowledge of scholastic routine - either Sunday or National."⁶

Nixon did not discriminate between the two clerics. If he had been irascible with Bedford, he scoffed at Palmer. Having reported that Palmer had been sent out by the Bishop of London "in an evil hour", and that he had been superseded by Hutchins but appointed acting Archdeacon by the Colonial Government upon Hutchins' death in 1841, Nixon passed to personal qualities. He wrote:

"Palmer is a man utterly unfit for any post of trust or efficiency.....(He is) weak in voice, deficient in zeal and energy, and active only in scattering the tracts of the Religious Tract Society. Of his churchmanship, you may thus form a tolerably good estimate....."⁷

Bedford and Palmer foresook their personal grievances, and united in opposition to Nixon. The only other clergyman in Hobart, when Nixon arrived, was H. P. Fry. Nixon planned to increase the number of Tasmanian clergymen. In 1845, Nixon sent Marriott back to England to seek money

5. N. Nixon, op cit, p 22.

6. ibid.

7. ibid.

for Church extension, and to recruit men of Pusey-ite sympathies to enhance his diocesan intention. Marriott returned with six ordained men and three candidates for the Ministry. The ordained men were F. H. Cox, A. Davenport, W. Murray, S. B. Windsor, W. Tancred and F. S. Batchelor. Not all these men were high-churchmen, but none was violently opposed to the new ritualistic interpretation of the Anglican tradition and none was, at that time, a convinced Evangelical.

Control of the clergy was Nixon's main problem. He was unsuccessful in solving this problem, and he bequeathed it to his successors. The troubles of disloyalty and clerical opposition were aggravated as much by the Bishop's own unrelenting authoritarianism as by the spread of Tractarianism and the "fear of Rome", which came in the wake of the Oxford Movement. The troubles were due as much to the legal difficulties of Colonial diocesan organisation as to the radicalism inherent in the Colony itself. "This was a period of general disturbance in the Colony, with public feeling on transportation running high, and with the people being encouraged by their leaders to vocal opposition against those in power." Several other factors helped to create and widen the gulf between Bishop Nixon on the one side and the evangelical clergy and the majority of the laity on the other. Nixon could never accept the Privy Council's "Gorham Judgment" on baptismal regeneration; yet, legally, he was bound to do so. As opposed to this, Nixon objected to others exercising private judgment

8. N. Batt, 'Bishop Nixon and Conflicts within the Church of England in Tasmania.' (B.A. Hons. thesis, Univ. Tasmania, 1962.)

in Church matters. As Bishop, Nixon was opposed to his clergy participating in the work of the Bible Society in Hobart. He could not tolerate Dissenters. He was out of sympathy with F. Barker and C. Perry, evangelical Bishops of Sydney and Melbourne respectively. He was dissatisfied with the standards of the convict chaplains.⁹ In addition, Nixon opposed early moves to allow laymen to deliberate on equal terms with the clergy on Church matters. He refused to nominate for preferment, or to accept for ordination, any man whose theological views differed from his own, or whose sponsor was in a like position. The Bishop would not allow evangelical lecturers to instruct theological students. These factors, which fanned coals of discontent into a blaze of conflict, also brought to light the problem of enforcing discipline.

Neither Nixon's Letters Patent nor the legal position of the Church in the Colonies was sufficient to enforce discipline or, should the Bishop wish it, a particular doctrine. The difficulty was common to most Colonial bishops, and certainly to those in Australia. It was a major item discussed at the Bishops' Conference in Sydney in 1850. In subsequent correspondence, the Archbishop of Canterbury told the Bishop of Sydney that the Queen's supremacy, which had to be assumed as unquestionable, prevented the issuing of any synodical mandate, or even the assembling of any Synod which might claim authority to any group or any bishop. The Archbishop thought that a scheme to remove the disciplinary difficulty should be prepared by the Australian bishops and sent to England. He said:

9. G. O. 1/64/999; G. O. 1/86/153.

"The subject would then be considered by the Colonial Secretary and the Ecclesiastical officers of the Crown, and such legislation might follow as would place (the Australian bishops) in a better condition for the right administration of Church discipline."¹⁰

Clearly, much time would elapse before a satisfactory and generally acceptable policy could be worked out. Meanwhile Nixon was faced with a peculiar disciplinary problem. At the root of the problem were the circumstances of the convict chaplains and the administration of finance. In trying to deal with these, Nixon was frustrated by limitations implicit in his Letters Patent. This frustration aggravated the later problems of discipline inherent in his doctrinal conflicts with the clergy.

By his Letters Patent, Nixon was empowered "to enquire by witnesses sworn in due form of law," and by all other lawful ways and means "concerning the words of his clergy, as their behaviour, in their said offices and stations respectively". Nixon asked for a Consistorial Court. However, he found he had no power to enforce the attendance of witnesses, or to compel them to be sworn in and give evidence. He appealed to the Colonial Office for this power. He was unsuccessful. As a result of this appeal, and of a petitioned objection from the Colony, Nixon's Letters Patent were cancelled and supplementary ones were issued, which did not give him power to establish a court. Nixon was informed:

".....even if there were a court here to summon the holders of chaplaincies before it, yet they would not be within ecclesiastical direction and control. The same power which

10. Diocesan Papers: Letter, the Archbishop of Canterbury/the

Lord Bishop of Sydney, 4 July 1851. (Copy.)

11. Mercury, 29 August 1932.

confers the chaplaincies on individuals can alone annul the appointment, viz, the Crown." 12

As "religious instructors" paid by the Crown, the Chaplains were Civil Servants. The Bishop's task of trying to enforce discipline was made more difficult when the office of Superintendent of Convict Chaplains was established.¹³ The Superintendent was empowered by the Secretary of State to maintain amongst the Chaplains "conformity of practice in the performance of their spiritual duties". He was to see that these duties were well and efficiently carried out. In practice, the Bishop's advice was sought, but not always taken. In his Primary Charge, Nixon referred to two priests, whose ministrations he felt he must reluctantly forbid, still officiating as Colonial Chaplains and still paid by the civil power for so officiating. "It has been, unhappily, reserved for this diocese," wrote Nixon, "to witness such disgraceful spectacles.....(these men) act daily in forgetfulness of their own vows of obedience to the discipline of the Church; (and) they despise even the well-weighed decision of the highest legal authorities of the Colony....."¹⁴

On the one hand, Nixon was unable to dismiss Colonial Chaplains; on the other hand, the Government could dismiss Colonial Chaplains even against the Bishop's advice. Chaplains could be dismissed at any moment,

12. Church Standard, 23 November 1917.

13. F. R. Nixon, A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Tasmania at the Primary Visitation in the Cathedral Church of St David, 23 April 1846.
(Hobart, 1846.), p 70.

14. ibid, p 63.

subject only to the ultimate decision of the Lt-Governor. Nixon protested. He wished to protect his clergy against "capricious aggression". The question was not an abstract one. When Nixon was in Sydney in 1844, the Lt-Governor dismissed a "most hard-working clergyman" for what he termed an "indiscretion". The clergyman had written a somewhat saucy but true remark on the "Regulations" in a letter to the Comptroller. Nixon's position was an invidious one. He had built up some endowments to maintain clergy, churches and schools; but he could not work his diocese without Government grants to Colonial Chaplains. Even if he could, it was doubtful if the Government, or the majority of the Colonial Chaplains, would allow him.

Colonists, as well as clergy, often disputed the new episcopal authority. The Bishop pleaded for such simple things as weekly offertories, the observance of Confirmation, religious instruction in schools and discipline in regulating marriages. The clergy were generally co-operative in these innovations, but the people fought them. Over and over again, the Church's rights were openly repudiated and the Bishop's powers were called in question by the Colonial Government. Nixon regarded the cause of the Church as a low ebb in Tasmania. Added to the lukewarmness on the part of the recognized believers was "the total want of cordial co-operation on the part of the Government and the populace generally".

Nixon hoped for an Established Church. He wanted to claim for himself the same episcopal prerogatives as he would have enjoyed in

Forgeries?

England; but he was flaunting a vain hope. The colonists objected that, although the Church of England had never been officially declared to be the Established Church in Australia, Anglicans and their bishops tended to regard the whole population as theirs by right and responsibility. In Tasmania, Nixon seemed to ignore even Government rulings on the matter. From 1835, Roman Catholic dignitaries had been received by both the Govern-¹⁵ment authorities and the Lt-Governor in Tasmania; and the Church of England ceased to have priority in all Governments dealings after the 1836 announcement by Governor Richard Bourke (Governor of New South Wales, 1831: 1837). Bourke had said:

"In a new country to which persons of all religious persuasions are invited to resort, it will be impossible to establish a dominant and endowed Church without much hostility and the great improbability of its becoming permanent.....Every one of the three grand divisions of Christianity should be treated indifferently." ("equally").

reference ?

Moreover, the "Church Act", of 1837, assisted Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, as well as Anglicans, on the basis of numbers and not of privilege; and, in 1838, the British and Foreign Schools' System had been adopted in Tasmania. Owing to Anglican opposition in England, the "British and Foreign" System had developed a predilection towards Dissenters. The earlier Tasmanian system of education, which had been almost exclusively controlled by the Church of England, was soon out-dated. In 1840, a Board of Education had been set up to manage the schools and to be responsible to the Government alone. Thus, attempts to reproduce in Australia the ascendancy of the Anglican Church in England had failed

15. K. von Stieglitz, The Story of the Pioneer Church in Van Diemen's Land. (Hobart, 1954.), p 53.

before Nixon had arrived in Tasmania. However, Nixon was unwilling to accede the point. In Tasmania, the challenge to Establishment was more effective than in England; in the field of education, this was especially so.

Shocked by what he found in Tasmania, Nixon wanted to reassert the "rightful" ascendancy of the Church of England. In particular, the Education question exercised his mind, "for on Church principles we can alone have any hope of raising up a God-serving generation".

Nixon tried to defend Church-sponsored and Church-controlled schools by organising opposition to the new Government scheme. The Lt-Governor, Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, refused Nixon a seat on the Legislative; but Nixon was still a member of the Executive Council. On 1 November 1843, he spoke before the former on a petition he had presented against the new Government schools. ¹⁶ However, he was unable to alter the new system or to prevent it from taking an increasingly Government-directed course. Eardley-Wilmot wrote to Downing Street:

"I believe the Bishop of Tasmania to be conscientious, sincere and a zealous Christian, and to have the good of the Colony and its inhabitants at heart; but His Lordship is not aware of the relative position in which the Church of England stands as to the Churches of different creeds, and that it does not rest on the same foundations of power and pre-eminence as it does at home." ¹⁷

Having failed to influence directly the colonial policy of education, Nixon sought to influence it indirectly. He aimed to establish some exclusively Anglican educational institutions. The year 1846 was an "annus mirabilis" for Anglican education in Tasmania. The Launceston

16. N. Nixon, op cit, p 14.

17. G.O. 25/11/22., 4 November 1843.

Church of England Grammar School was opened on 15 June, the Hutchins School, Hobart, on 3 August and Christ's College on 1 October. Nixon had high hopes for Christ's College. He aimed to raise up the dry bones of an educational hope, and make the College a living, replenished reality. The ideas of a superior college had been mooted in the days of Colonel George Arthur. Arthur conferred with Broughton about the establishment of such an institution. When Sir John Franklin arrived as Arthur's successor, progress quickened. Franklin corresponded with the Secretary of State for the Colonies and, with his permission, with his close friend, Thomas Arnold, who was at that time the Liberal-evangelical Headmaster of Rugby. Arnold recommended a favourite pupil, Rev. J. P. Gell, to be first Warden of the proposed College. Gell was appointed by Lord Stanley at a salary of £500. Franklin's idea was not carried out in its entirety. The foundation stone of a college building was laid at New Norfolk, near Hobart, in 1840. Queen's School, which was intended as a preparatory school for Christ's College, was opened in Macquarie Street, Hobart, the same year. Eardley-Wilmot, who was Franklin's successor, objected to the New Norfolk site. Gell had to accept an alternative scholastic appointment at Queen's School. The School closed in 1844, and the scheme for a College was apparently abandoned. Gell was placed in charge of St John Baptist, a new Hobart ecclesiastical district. In 1844, William Walker's rural property, "Vron", was purchased to endow the See of Tasmania. The property consisted of several hundred acres and a

18. The Wilfridian (Christ College Centenary). (Hobart, 1946), p 19.

*Primary
references
required.*

mansion. Early in 1845, the area was renamed Bishopsbourne. Nixon allowed part of this Episcopal estate, including the buildings, to be used for the new college. The college, opened in 1846, was to give "an excellent education on strict Church of England principles". Gell remained Warden until 1848, when he was succeeded by Rev. F. H. Cox. In 1853, Rev. P. V. M. Filleul was appointed as Warden. On 27 May 1857, Nixon closed the college. Conditions in the Colony had changed for the worse. The wave of prosperity, which had swept across the Straits after the discovery of gold in Victoria, had subsided, leaving stagnation and depression. Moreover, the distance of the College from the urban centres, and the increasing competition from the two Grammar Schools in Launceston and Hobart, had seriously affected both its numbers and its receipts. Nixon decided to husband the resources until all liabilities had been discharged and the assets built up to their original total. The assets were then handed over to new Trustees. For nearly twenty years, the activities of the college ceased.¹⁹ The College had been too ambitious for a young colony with a population largely convict. The College had been extravagantly managed;²⁰ but, despite difficult times, the two grammar schools made some progress.

Finance Problems under Nixon

Complementary to Nixon's other diocesan tasks was that of building

19. ibid, p 37.

20. Bishop Nixon's L.B., Nixon/ R.R. Davies, F. A. Marriott, V.

Fleming and R. Dry, 4 February 1851.

up the Church's finances and endowments. Even before leaving England for Tasmania, Nixon had appealed for funds. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Colonial Bishops' Fund had made substantial contributions as endowments for the See. Later, as a result of further appeals by Nixon, an anonymous gift of £5,000, through the Bishop of Ripon, came for "convict missions". This, with £4,600 from the "Tasmanian Fund," formed the "Ripon Fund" which was much used to assist Tasmania's clergy. Endowments were invested in farm land at Bishopsbourne and provided good rentals for some time to come. Moreover, the Crown granted "thirty-three acres and three roods of land at New Town" as an endowment for the See;
²¹
this was called the Bishop's Glebe. Despite these early contributions, the Tasmanian Church depended on the Government's financial aid and land grants. When the English contributions declined with the onset of internal conflicts and squabbles in Tasmania following the publication of the Minutes of the 1850 Bishops' Conference in Sydney, a continuation of Government assistance seemed imperative. The thirty-first section of the 1854 Tasmanian Constitution laid it down that £15,000 should be reserved annually for "ecclesiastical purposes"; but, with grants to Convict Chaplains due to cease in July 1856, and with indications in the Tasmanian parliament that all aid to religion could soon be withdrawn, the Diocese was forced to seek an alternative way of financing its work.

A tentative answer to the problem was the Sustentation Fund. This was an attempt at endowment through local contributions, and it was intended

21. W. R. Barrett, op cit, p 7.

ultimately to cover all Church finances. The Fund was established in 1855. It aimed to supply the ministrations of the Church in parishes where clergy stipends had been withdrawn by the Government. The Fund was to be administered by two committees, one to be established in the south for the Archdeaconry of Hobart and the other in the north for the Archdeaconry of Launceston. By "rules and regulations" framed in both Archdeaconries,²³ the committees administering the Fund could nominate clergy to be paid out of the Fund, the Bishop retaining a right of veto. All committee members were to be laymen. Nixon allowed this concession to laymen because he hoped to pacify both those who agitated for lay participation in Church administration and those who had withdrawn financial support because of the squabbles of clergymen in whom the right to administer rested. The main achievement of the Sustentation Fund was not diocesan financial stability, but the experience gained by laymen in conducting Church affairs. Such deliberations by laymen were a step towards what is now called synodical action, where a bishop meets with his clergy and the laity to legislate on diocesan affairs.

In May 1859, the first Tasmanian Synod, acting with full legal powers, was held. One of its resolutions made the Sustentation Fund, which

22. Tasmanian Church Chronicle, 1 May 1855.

23. Sustentation Fund - Rules Passed at the Meeting of the Committee for the Archdeaconry of Hobart Town, held March 28th, 1856. (Hobart, 1856.); Rules and Regulations of the Sustentation Fund, Established for Church Purposes, in the Archdeaconry of Launceston, June 18th, A.D. 1856. (Hobart, 1856.)

had proved inadequate, give place to a General Church Fund. The General Church Fund was to be administered by two Committees, one for each of the two archdeaconries. Members of these Committees were not only to be laymen but all the laymen of Synod. The Fund was to prepare the Diocese for the time when State-aid would cease. The Committees were to collect money to pay the stipends and pensions of clergy, particularly in mission districts, which did not receive Government aid. They were to help build churches and parsonage houses, and endow parishes. The response to the Committees' appeals was unsatisfactory. Nixon therefore issued a special appeal on 19 November 1860.²⁴ Nixon wanted:

"...to organize, by means of churchwardens, a more consistent system of canvassing in each parish generally, with a view to inviting subscriptions toward the support of the Church, and of bringing under the notice of members of the Church of England the claims of the clergymen not in receipt of any stipend from the State."

The new appeal was still open when events moved quickly in Parliament. On 10 September 1861, the Tasmanian Government issued a comparative statement on Churches receiving State-aid, in which the uneven distribution of grants was revealed. The Returns showed that in eight electoral districts, containing a population of 19,371, there were nineteen Ministers of Religion supported by the Public Treasury, while in another six electoral districts, with a population of 19,647, there were only two.²⁵ In 1862,

24. F. R. Nixon, To the Members of the Church of England in the Diocese of Tasmania, from their Bishop. (Hobart, 19 November 1860.)

25. State Aid-Comparative Statement of Churches. (Laid upon the Table by Mr Chapman, and ordered by the House to be printed, 10 September 1861.) (Hobart, 1861.)

the Parliament discontinued the subsidies under the 1837 "Church Act". On 1 January 1863, the State-Aid Re-Distribution Bill became law. The £15,000, secured "for public worship" under the 1854 "Constitutional Act", was to be re-distributed as follows:

United Church of England and Ireland.	£8,771.
Church of Rome.	£3,466.
Church of Scotland.	£1,180.
Wesleyan.	£1,110.
Free Church of Scotland.	£ 421.
Jewish Church.	£ 62.

The Church was to be allowed to control its own finances. As vacancies in Colonial Chaplaincies occurred, "the principle of partial self-support could be applied to all the parishes in the diocese instead of to the few that were not State-paid". The following chart shows the Clergy and Catechists in the Archdeaconry of Launceston not receiving State-Aid in 1863, together with the sources and particulars of what it was hoped would be their stipends:

Name	Parish/District	G.C.F.	R.F.	E. or G.	P	Total
Rev. E.P. Adams	Deloraine	263		37	None	£300
Rev. Aug Barkway	St Paul's Launceston	250	50		None	£300
Rev. J.M. Norman	Cressy and Lake River	300			None	£300
Rev. A.M. Mason	Curate, Carrick/Hadspen	100	50	80	Yes	£230
Mr. R. Smith	Emu Bay and Table Cape	140	50	5	None	£195
Mr. C.P. Brome	Out-Districts, Torquay	25	25			£ 50
Mr. Mitchell	Bishopbourne and Illawarra		50			£ 50
		(Saturday Visitation; Sunday Duty)				
		(Sunday Duty)				
Totals		£1,078	£225	£122	-	£1,425

G.C.F. = General Church Fund, the District to subscribe one half.
R.F. = Ripon Fund. E. or G. = Endowment or Glebe. P. = Parsonage.

In many other districts in the diocese, clergy were not receiving full stipends. The future seemed full of uncertainty. This sense of insecurity caused several clergymen to return to England after a short time in the Diocese.

Conflict within the Church, and the Beginning of Synod, 1850:1862.

Before H. P. Fry, a Hobart clergyman, returned to England on a visit in 1849, he had been more inclined to Tractarianism than had Nixon. Evidence of his Pusey-ite tendencies is contained in his Thoughts on the Apostolic Ministry and Tradition, which was published in 1843, and in the Herald of Tasmania, which he edited. When Fry returned in 1850, he was a pronounced Evangelical. He changed the doctrinal outlook of St George's, Battery Point, Hobart; and the parishioners offered no resistance. Nixon's opinion of Fry as "a man of purity, piety, and untiring zeal" (1845)²⁷ changed to uncertainty whether he was "more disgusted or amused by Dr Fry"²⁸ (1851).

Fry was the first to see "an inherent danger" in Nixon's policy of staffing his diocese solely with high-churchmen. He became the leader of a strong party of clergy and laymen, who began as anti-ritualists but developed into strong, if sometimes unreasonable, antagonists of the Bishop himself.

Meanwhile, in 1850, a Conference of six Australian bishops was held in Sydney. The objects of the Conference were:

27. N. Nixon, op cit, p 22.

28. Bishop Nixon's L.B., Nixon/Rev. A. Davenport, 24 June 1851.

"to consult together upon the various difficulties in which we are at present placed by the doubtful application to the Church in this Province of the Ecclesiastical Laws which are now in force in England; and to suggest such measures as may seem to be most suitable for removing our present embarrassments; to consider such questions as affect the progress of religion, and the preservation of Ecclesiastical order in the several Dioceses of this Province." 29

The Conference lasted one month. Resolutions, which were passed, covered: canonical law, synodical government, discipline, doctrine, the ordering of divine service, education and missions to the heathen. The Bishops, who were in Conference, could not make laws; they could only agree on guiding principles. R. A. Giles quotes from a letter sent by Bishop C. Perry, of Melbourne, to Bishop W. Broughton, of Sydney, which states the position clearly:

"I perfectly agree....that the Government have no right to interfere with our Church, except at our request, or with our free consent, but we are so circumstanced that we on our part can do nothing without the assistance of the Legislature. As a branch of the Church of England, we cannot make laws for ourselves, and, without duly recognized ecclesiastical courts, we cannot maintain any discipline, except by an irresponsible exercise of authority." 30

For evangelical clergy and laymen, it was good that the Conference findings

-
29. Minutes of Proceedings of a Meeting of the Metropolitan and Suffragan Bishops of the Province of Australasia, held in Sydney, October 1, 1850. (Syd., 1851.) ("Section I: Objects of the Conference.")
30. R. A. Giles, The Constitutional History of the Australian Church. (Lond., 1929), pp 83-84.

could not be easily enforced. With the exception of Perry, the Bishops showed themselves as distant high-churchmen. This tendency was most pronounced in their findings on baptismal regeneration, which followed their discussions on the Gorham Judgment in England. J. Dunmore Lang attacked the findings of the five-sixth majority as traditionally and scripturally unsound.³¹ His views were shared by many clergy and most laymen. *A religiously authoritarian position?*

Difficulties arose from the 1850 Bishops' Conference. Evangelicals were opposed to opinions expressed there on baptism, and to the manner in which the third and succeeding sections of the resolutions were framed. These sections dealt with Provincial and Diocesan Synods. They planned to give an almost exclusive power to the Bishops and Clergy for the election of Bishops, the sub-division of dioceses and the framing of ecclesiastical laws. The right of the laity, in Synods, was to be merely a consultative one with the clergy. They were to be attached to the Synods in the form of conventions. They were excluded from deliberations on matters which were "the primary affair of the clergy". Opposition grew to such limited lay participation in Synods. When it was made known that the Minutes of the Conference were to be sent to England to help frame legislation and organisation of the Church of England in the Colonies, Tasmanian Evangelicals and moderate Churchmen alike objected to "arbitrary clerical domination" along seemingly Tractarian lines.

31. J. Dunmore Lang, History of New South Wales. (Lond., 1854.), ii, p 477.

The Tasmanian conflict was led by Fry and Bedford, of the southern archdeaconry, Dr. W. H. Browne and Rev. A. Stackhouse, of the northern, and such laymen as T. J. Knight, W. P. Weston, R. Kermode, W. Henty and M. Fenton. A section of Tasmanian Society, which was opposed to Nixon's authoritarianism, lent support. The conflict

".....was a reaction to the Sydney Minutes.....It began as a general expression of discontent against Tractarianism, and was fostered by Fry on the basis of colonial readiness for conflict".³²

Fry condemned the 1850 Conference because its findings, if adopted, would expel Evangelicals from the Church and deprive the laity of a voice in framing the laws by which they would be governed. The clergy would become entirely dependent for their offices on the arbitrary will of Bishops. The breach between the Church of England and other Protestant brethren would be widened. Nixon had recently altered clergymen's licences. Fry and his supporters feared that Church membership or ordination would soon be subject to a Bishop's personal interpretation of doctrine.

Nixon, supported by Marriott, tried to rally the clergy to approve the Minutes. Fry replied by organising "The Church of England Association for Maintaining in Van Diemen's Land the Principles of the Protestant Reformation" ("The Protestant Association"). The "Protestant Association" condemned the 1850 Sydney Minutes, objected to their publication without prior reference to clergy and people, and demanded equal say for clergy and laity in Church government. In his 1851 Charge, Nixon tried to restore unity. He was unsuccessful. His opponents now thrust at "Romanising

32. N. Batt, op cit, p 19.

*But there was already
- Victoria, where the
help was as English.*

tendencies" in the Tasmanian Church. They demanded the withdrawal of Bishop Wordsworth's Theophilus Anglicanus from Christ's College. They objected to The Steps to the Altar being used at St David's Cathedral, Hobart. They wanted Evangelicals included on the teaching staff at Christ's College. Fry petitioned Archbishop Sumner, evangelical Archbishop of Canterbury, assuring him of the general lack of sympathy in Tasmania towards Tractarianism. The "Protestant Association" issued "The Solemn Declaration" on 5 September 1851. This included the demands just mentioned; but, in addition, it insisted upon "the right of private judgment" and denied the right of any church or minister "to prescribe to individuals in matters of religion, in opposition to their own judgments". Nixon retaliated. He declaimed that private judgment was inconsistent with Church membership. He tried to frustrate what had now become the Tasmanian "Evangelical Cause". He sought more Pusey-ite priests from England. Nixon declined to accept G. B. Smith and others as candidates for Orders. Their letters testimonial had been signed by clergy who had supported "The Protest". The diocese became notoriously divided. Even Nixon wondered how such divisions "could ultimately conduce to the Church's permanent well-being". Therefore, he was ready for a compromise on the matter of "private judgment". He accepted the placating verbal interpretation given by Frederic Barker, who was Bishop of Sydney, Metropolitan and the evangelical successor to Broughton. Nixon then prepared to work on a united front for the establishment of Synod. Working towards Synod was a task in which all could join. That they could do so was due

to the coming of colonial self-government, the imminence of "disestablishment", and the evangelical agitation for lay participation in Church government.

Nixon failed, in 1852, to have the Queen remove disabilities of Act 25 Henry VIII C19 and allow the Colonial Church to meet in Synod. Fry, at that time, opposed the granting of Synodical power to "the Bishop's Party". Yet the move towards Synod strengthened. With the coming of colonial self-government, the Imperial Parliament failed to pass an Act to regulate the Colonial Church. The Home authorities, including the Archbishop of Canterbury and the law officers of the Crown, made it clear that the Act of Submission did not apply to the Colonial Church; the Queen would not in future interfere, through the issue of Letters Patent, with the affairs of any colony which had its own legislature. The way was open for the clergy and laity of Tasmania to seek their own Church government under the protection of the State's legislature or, if need be, "by mutual consent". At Nixon's instigation, a voluntary Council of Advice met from 29 September to 6 October 1857. This Council was based on a three-house synodical scheme of Bishop, Clergy and Laity. In the unseemly conflicts between the Bishop and his Clergy, both the Evangelical and the High-Church causes had suffered, and the Church itself was weakened; but now some kind of peace was achieved. The first notice of motion at the Session on 1 October 1857 was given by Dr Fry. It called for reconciliation and the removal of disabilities under which some of the clergy still laboured. Nixon replied to the motion. He wanted to "sacrifice all pri-

afterwards?

vate and personal feeling at the altar of Christian duty". He said, "I do not ask my brother to say 'I repent' or to seek forgiveness; I forgive HIM (pointing to Dr Fry).....I forgive every-one, whether Clergyman or Layman who during the last six years has said a single word against me..."³³ The Bishop then left his seat and shook hands with Dr. Fry. "This interesting and affecting ceremony illicited another burst of applause and the Synod then adjourned for half an hour."³⁴

As the Council of Advice had no legal standing, its members decided to approach the Tasmanian Parliament for power to control and manage the affairs of the Church in Tasmania. A bill-in-petition was prepared. It was placed before the adjourned session of the Synodical Council, which was held from 20 July to 2 August 1858. After general approval, the bill-in-petition was forwarded to the Legislative Council. On 5 November 1858, "the Church of England Constitution Act", which was based on the draft bill, became law. It provided for a Synod, which would have full legal power to pass Acts on Tasmanian ecclesiastical affairs. The first such Synod met in Hobart on 3 May 1859. The session lasted thirteen days. It was attended by the Bishop, thirty-three clergy and forty-four laymen. The Synod passed Acts and Resolutions. The Acts were, first, to interpret and shorten the language of the Acts of Synod and, second, to provide for the Trial of Ecclesiastical Offences. The Resolutions covered: Ecclesiastical Discipline, Patronage, Finance, Provision for Clergy, Trustees of Church Property, Trans-

33. Original Minute Book of the Diocesan Synod, 1857-1880.

34. Examiner, 2 October 1857.

fer of Grants, and Status of Incumbencies. The Minutes of the Proceedings were sent to all the other Australian dioceses.

Nixon took great pride in the establishment of Synod. He regarded it as the one great victory of his episcopate. In his farewell address he wrote:

"Upon one work....we may surely be permitted to congratulate one another. I allude to the establishment of our Synod... I maintain that only in and through these Synodical meetings can the Church of England find her true strength....Only through the hearty co-operation of a faithful and intelligent Laity working with a zealous and energetic body of clergy can we reasonably expect the Church of England to become the Church of the affections of the majority of the people."³⁵

Nixon believed that the success attending Synodical action in the Australian colonies would tell in England. In England, he hoped to be able to point to the Synods in Australia, Canada and elsewhere as an accomplished fact, and not as an experiment.³⁶

Proceedings of Synod from 1860 to 1862 included the following resolutions:

1860 (19 June - 29 June):

concerning Duration of Synod (not to exceed three years); the Power of Summoning and Proroguing Synod to be vested in the Bishop; Formation of a Bishop's Council of Advice; Religious Education and Education for Holy Orders; the Form of Induction to Cures; Clerical Insolvency; Ministry of Laymen; Trustees of Church Property.

1861 (3 September):

concerning the Duties of Churchwardens; Ecclesiastical Laws; Church Properties; Clergy Widow's and Orphans' Fund.

35. C.N., 19 February 1864.

36. Mercury, 23 January 1862.

1862 (14 January):

concerning Finance; Appointment of Trustees; Missions; Insurance; Absence of the Bishop.

The pioneer Church was beginning to govern itself; but there was an unsatisfactory side to the phenomenon. Synod might pass resolutions; it could not always implement them. Critics declaimed that the numerous paper schemes were ineffective. These schemes affected the General Church Fund, the security of Church lands, endowments, the proposed 'Roll of Benefactors', parochial boundaries, the conditions and prospects of a new Christ's College, Religious education of the Church's children, and Foreign Missions. Some thought Synod pretentious. The Editor of the Church News wrote:

"The Church's enemies regard Synod with no friendly eye. They say that we are but a 'corpus vile', dressed out with a little tinsel, propped up by State-support and ready to fall to decay when that is removed; that we have no inherent vigour, no power of expansion, no self-help."³⁷

The "Church's enemies" and "Nixon's enemies" were often synonymous terms. Nixon did not deny that the Tasmanian Synod had its difficulties.; but he still saw in it the hope of the future. He wrote:

".....each succeeding session of Synod since our first meeting in 1857, has been an improvement on its predecessor. The tone of our debates has become more and more thoughtful..... more and more befitting and high feeling that should actuate the conduct and characterize the counsels of a religious assembly....."³⁸

37. C.N., 19 June 1863.

38. C.N., 19 February 1864.

The Interregnum, February 1862: January 1865

Francis Russell Nixon left Hobart for England in the Percy on 20 February 1862. He had been granted leave of absence from his Diocese; but he did not return. Nixon's successor, Charles Henry Bromby, arrived in Hobart on 7 January 1865. During the interim, the Diocese of Tasmania was administered by R. R. Davies and T. H. Reibey. Rowland Robert Davies had arrived in Tasmania 30 March 1830, thirteen years before Nixon. He had been born at Northgate, Canterbury diocese, 15 September 1805. When he was appointed to a Tasmanian chaplaincy in 1829, he had already graduated B.A. of Trinity College, Dublin, and been ordained priest in St Coleman's Cathedral, Cloyne. Davies' Tasmanian appointment, bearing George IV's signature, was addressed to Ralph Darling, Governor of New South Wales, at whose instigation William Grant Broughton, who had just been appointed Archdeacon of New South Wales, licensed Davies for work in Tasmania. Davies went to the North to Norfolk Plains, called Latour until 1833, and then Longford. He ministered in the Longford district for twenty-four years. When the area north of Campbell Town was made into the Deanery of Longford in 1844, Davies became the first Rural Dean of Longford. In this capacity he worked a huge area including Cressy, Perth, Evandale, Campbell Town, Westbury, Carrick and other settlements. He was an energetic builder of churches. "If we only want one church there will be a thousand difficulties," he said, "but start ten, and the obstacles vanish." Before the 'forties were over, Davies had built eleven churches in the

39. N. Nixon, op cit, p 37.

Longford Deanery. Nixon soon recognised Davies' worth, calling him "our⁴⁰ excellent chaplain at Longford". He made him Vicar-General and Commissary of the Diocese on 6 July 1846, first Archdeacon of Launceston on 22 February 1850, and Incumbent of St David's Cathedral and Archdeacon of Hobart in succession to F. A. Marriott on 8 December 1854.

Nixon also supported Thomas Haydock Reibey. Reibey was Tasmanian-born and was ordained by Nixon. Devoted to the Church, he succeeded W. Tancred as Archdeacon of Launceston in 1858. He supervised the northern archdeaconry from Entally House, his home near Hadsphen.

Until late in 1863, when Reibey went to England on leave, the two Archdeacons administered the Diocese between them. But Reibey deferred to Davies as senior Archdeacon. Their extensive correspondence shows the variety of their concern. They discussed: The Missions to the Islanders of the Bass's Straits; Clerical replacements; Church-building; Demands on the Ripon Fund, and the collection of Bishopsbourne rents; State-Aid redistribution; and Government ecclesiastical legislation. However, apart from maintaining a peace between clerical partisans, they achieved little of practical value at this time. This was not due to any lack of persistence on their part. For example, constant reference was made by both archdeacons to the Missions to the Islands. They frequently appealed to the Tasmanian Government for support. They believed the Islanders and half-castes in the Bass's Straits had strong claims on the government. "It would be a crying shame," wrote Davies, "an everlasting blot on the his-

tory of the country, if these people were left to vegetate in their present⁴¹ ignorance. Another generation, the third, now cries to us for help."

But interdenominational bickering stayed the Government's hand. Denominations strove for preference while the devil ran away with the half-castes.

Nor did the archdeacons come easily by money for ministrations to more settled areas. Rev. R. O. Thorpe quitted Campbell Town and Ross in 1862.

Finding his stipend both uncertain and insecure, he returned to England.

Certainly no replacement could be made when no money was available. The depressed conditions of the time prevented the large landed proprietors of⁴² the district from coming forward to make a permanent church endowment.

So the parish of Campbell Town was without a clergyman throughout the interregnum. The 1862 State-Aid Redistribution Act made no provision for vacant

parishes. The Churchwardens retaliated by refusing to send contributions⁴³ to the General Church Fund.

There seemed no way out of the impasse. The current economic situation adversely affected most other parishes. It was pointless trying to rob Peter to pay Paul, because Peter was too poor to rob.

But individual churchmen still strove to build churches. Several plans for new churches were submitted to the archdeacons for approval, but only one was opened during the period of dual control. St Mary's Church, Hagley, known as Sir Richard Dry's Church, was opened by Archdeacon Reibey on 25 November 1862. At a time when Reibey was "so much troubled to get any of the Ripon Fund rents" that he had to ask Davies to make no new demands,

41. B.C., Reibey/Davies, 12 September 1862.

42. *ibid*, Reibey/Davies, 1 November 1862.

43. *ibid*, John Mason/Rev. H. P. Kane, 24 October 1863.

the munificence of men like Dry kept faith alive.

The State-Aid Re-Distribution Act of 1862 did little to alleviate the general financial distress, and the two Finance Committees set up to administer the terms of the Act for Synod and the General Church Fund were conditioned by the geographical confines of their archdeaconries rather than by the diocesan-wide interests of the Church. As the Northern Finance Committee achieved a greater initial measure of success than the Southern, jealousies developed between them. During the interregnum, both the clergy and laity looked to one or the other of the archdeacons for leadership. Some northern churchmen wanted the diocese cut in two, with a bishop appointed for the north.⁴⁴ The movement died down for a time when Reibey left for England. Soon after (17 December 1863), Nixon resigned the See, and Davies became sole Commissary. No assistant was appointed for the North. Davies "took upon himself the burthen of the execution of the duties of the office of the Special Commissary of both the Archdeaconries of Hobart Town and Launceston within and constituting the Diocese of Tasmania during the vacancy of the See".⁴⁵ He declined nomination for the bishopric.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, he was a diocesan leader. He succeeded in allaying the fears of the clergy and he gave the whole diocese "a touch of harmony and peace".⁴⁷ Davies' correspondence was enormous. He also travelled long distances, and never spared himself. His Longford

44. W. R. Barrett, op cit, p 16.

45. Diocese of Tasmania, Register of Consecration of Churches and Licences, Vol. II.

46. Advertiser, 9 January 1865.

47. Advertiser, 10 January 1865.

parsonage was remarkable for its hospitality. He was known as a lover⁴⁸ of flowers and men. He healed differences between clergy and laymen, and he brought peace to several parishes. In time, he found the solution to Campbell Town and Ross. He insisted on the importance of the individual. It was the individual, he knew, who would respond to Christ in his own way. Davies did not vaunt his authority. Yet, despite the obvious success of his leadership, he could not fulfil the spiritual functions of a bishop. Consecrations, confirmations and ordinations had ceased. The interregnum was embarrassing to the diocese. The neighbouring Bishops of Melbourne and Sydney could not help. They were both in England. Had the Bishop of Sydney not been in England, the lodging and acceptance of Nixon's resignation might have been considerably delayed. Moreover, Tasmania had no power to hold a Synod for general business. The Church Advocate, W. L. Dobson, ruled that, in the absence of the Bishop, Davies could only summon Synod to deal with matters specially provided for in the State-Aid Redistribution Act. Therefore, the 1863 and 1864 Synods dealt only with matters of finance. Nor was there a representative body, such as a Cathedral Chapter or a Standing Committee, to carry on during the absence of the bishop or the vacancy in the See.

Davies did his best for Tasmanian episcopacy. He tried to procure⁴⁹ for Nixon an adequate pension. He called members of Synod together on 18 March 1864 and had adopted an address of appreciation and farewell

48. C.N., December 1880.

49. B.C., Davies/Colonial Treasurer, 8 April 1863.

for Bishop Nixon. He gained the support of Alfred Kennerley (Synodsmen, All Saints' Church, Hobart) for a motion passed at the same meeting: "That it is desirable that a Synod Hall to be called 'Bishop Nixon's Hall', as a memorial to the first Bishop, be erected in Hobart, and that subscriptions be invited towards the cost". Davies travelled extensively in an effort to raise the £1,000 needed. He was not successful; but his enthusiasm inspired an elderly Campbell Town parishioner to give £1,000 to endow a church there for the new episcopate.⁵⁰ Just previously, on 17 May 1864, Davies was able to dedicate St John's Church, Franklin, where Thomas Stansfield was Chaplain.⁵¹ The new Bishop had been named, and there were signs of enthusiasm for the new era. Davies took every opportunity to inform the diocese of the new bishop's movements. He endeavoured to secure adequate stipend and housing for him. He made detailed arrangements for his public reception, and had prepared an Address of Welcome.⁵² The Cornwall Chronicle, 21 December 1864, expressed the expectation: "The Bishop's arrival is looked forward to with great interest by all classes, for we have been given good reason to believe that he will be a noble figure in these colonies". The Government promised Davies that public offices would close to enable official persons to welcome the bishop.⁵³ The

50. Advertiser, 10 January 1865.

51. Diocese of Tasmania, Register of Consecration of Churches and Licences, Vol. II.

52. Mercury, 13 December 1864.

53. Mercury, 6 January 1865.

Hobart Municipal Council decided to forego its meeting on Monday, 9 January 1865, in favour of attending the Bishop's official reception at the Hutchins School.⁵⁴ The Secretary of Synod, Rev. F. H. Cox, issued a detailed public announcement of the reception arrangements for the new bishop, who was to arrive in Hobart on Saturday, 7 January 1865.⁵⁵

The Church in 1864

Nixon bequeathed to Bromby's care, through Davies, about 50,000 members of the Church of England, or about five-ninths of Tasmania's population. Cures or parishes numbered forty-one; forty-three clergymen ministered under licence: two Archdeacons, thirty-seven incumbents and four Assistant Curates. One Convict Chaplain and four clergymen, who taught, completed the list.

The governing body of the Church was the Synod, established by Act of the local Parliament and consisting of the Bishop, licensed Clergy and representatives of the Laity elected by all persons who declared themselves members of the Church of England alone. Synod representatives had to be communicants of the Church. The larger parishes elected two representatives; the smaller, one. The total was fifty-seven. An election was held every three years. The Bishop, Clergy and Laity sat and ordinarily voted together; but, as they were three distinct orders, and the consent of the whole was necessary to the validity of any Act of Synod, votes

54. Mercury, 10 January 1865.

55. Mercury, 7 January 1865.

were taken separately, when duly demanded. Mutual confidence of the orders had increased with experience, and, during the 1862 session, the privilege of separate voting was not once exercised.

Regarding Church patronage, or the appointment of clergymen to vacant cures, once in every three years every parish resolved whether the patronage was to be vested in the Bishop or in a Board of seven members of Synod, to be elected by the parishioners. Boards, so chosen, exercised the right of patron in presenting a Clerk to the Bishop, according to the usage of the Church in England.

The Synod had also instituted an enquiry into diocesan religious education; it had investigated the conditions of the various Church properties, including that of the now-closed Christ's College; and had drawn up some useful regulations with regard to the duties of Churchwardens.

The finances of the Church had been an anxious subject of debate. Synod's aim had been to raise the income of every incumbent to at least £350 per annum, but the aim had been only partially attained. Twenty-nine of the Clergy were "Colonial Chaplains" and had derived a settled maintenance from the State. Their average income was £351:9:0, besides parsonage/houses in thirteen instances. Of the rest, only one clergyman had a complete endowment of £400 per annum, derived from the munificence of Sir Richard Dry. The remainder were mainly dependent upon the voluntary offerings of their parishioners, aided by the failing resources of the General Church Fund, collected and administered by the two Finance Committees of the Synod, one for each of the Archdeaconries of Hobart and

Launceston. The average income of these clergymen was £297.0.5, with no parsonage house in any case.

Collections for 1860 had amounted to almost £4,000. The actual attendants at divine service were 5,115, and acts of communion 1,451. Church-room was provided for 14,204. In 1860, children under Church instruction numbered 3,216, marriages 295 and burials 939. Missions to the islands of Bass Straits were being established. Reibey was anxious to provide a permanent mission boat for work there. Bishop Nixon's home, "Bishopstowe", at New Town, had been offered for sale; therefore, a permanent Bishop's House had yet to be found. Davies and members of the Synod were still seeking ways and means of providing an adequate stipend⁵⁶ for the new Bishop.

Internal conflicts, which had been based on partisanship, had abated. Davies had succeeded in maintaining a tired peace; but Nixon himself had hopes for the future. He had met the new Bishop and his son in England. Just before Bromby's consecration, Nixon sent word to Tasmania:

"My own impression of the son was very favourable - indeed, I believe wherever he has been he has created a strong feeling of respect. The estimate of him at Cheltenham was higher than most untried young men attain to."⁵⁷

The son, Henry Bodley Bromby, was favourably disposed to the High-Church movement; but his father, the new Bishop, was less inclined to partisanship.

56. Mercury, passim, 1862.

57. N. Nixon, op cit, p 57.

Cures and Clergy during the Interregnum.

<u>Cure.</u>	<u>Clergy. 1862.</u>	<u>1864. (Alterations only)</u>
<u>Archdeaconry of Hobart Town.</u>		
Hobart Town, St David's.	R. R. Davies.	
Trinity.	A. Davenport.	
St George's.	G. B. Smith.	
St John's.	F. H. Cox.	
All Saints'.	S. Parsons.	
New Town.	T. J. Ewing.	F. W. Quilter.
Bothwell.	W. M. Hesketh.	
Broadmarsh.	B. Ball.	
Buckland, Prosser's Plains.	C. Dobson.	
Franklin and Victoria, Huon.	T. Stanfield.	
Green Ponds.	W. Trollope.	A. Wayn.
Hamilton and Ouse.	G. Wright.	
Kingston.	E. Freeman.	
Macquarie Plains and Plenty.	T. Garrard.	
New Norfolk.	W. W. F. Murray.	
Oatlands and Jericho.	J. L. Ison.	
O'Brien's Bridge and Bridgewater.	W. R. Bennett.	
Pontville.	J. Burrowes.	
Port Arthur.	G. Eastman.	
Richmond and Jerusalem.	D. Galer.	
Rokeby, Clarence Plains.	R. Wilson.	
Sorell.	J. Norman.	
Swansea.	J. Mayson.	
Curacies: St David's, Hobart.	J. Watson.	H. B. Bromby.
	F. Hudspeth.	
South Arm.		J. T. Gellibrand.
<u>Archdeaconry of Launceston.</u>		
Launceston, St John's.	W. H. Browne.	
Trinity.	F. Hales.	
St Paul's and Newnham.	A. Barkway.	
Avoca.	W. Richardson.	
Bishopsbourne, Cressy and Lake River.	J. M. Norman.	
Campbell Town and Ross.	R. O. Thorpe.	Vacant.
Carrick, plus Hadspen and Illawarra.	T. H. Reibey.	
Deloraine.	J. McIntyre.	E. P. Adams.
Evandale.	W. Brickwood.	C. R. Arthur.
Fingal, plus Cullenswood.	Vacant.	J. Chambers.
George Town.	J. Fereday.	
Hagley and Quamby.	H. O. Irwin.	

Cures and Clergy during the Interregnum. (Continued)

<u>Cure.</u>	<u>Clergy. 1862.</u>	<u>1864. (alterations only)</u>
<u>Archdeaconry of Launceston.</u>		
Longford.	A. Stackhouse.	
Patterson's Plains, plus White Hills.	F. Brownrigg.	
Perth.	S. B. Fookes.	
Port Sorell.	E. P. Adams.	Vacant.
Stanley, Circular Head.	H. E. Drew.	
Westbury.	M. Williams.	
Windermere.	J. Dixon.	
Curacies: Carrick.	J. Chambers.	A. N. Mason.

Chapter Five

TASMANIAN SEE: PROBLEMS OF DISESTABLISHMENT.

1865:1872

The New Diocesan

The new Bishop and his family reached Melbourne in the True Briton on 21 December 1864. They had spent a profitable voyage. Passengers spoke highly of the Bishop: "he endeared himself to passengers and crew", "performed divine service daily", "preached each Sunday when weather permitted", and "exerted a salutary influence during the voyage"¹. In Melbourne the new Bishop stayed with his brother, Rev. Dr. John Edward Bromby, Headmaster of the Melbourne Church of England Grammar School. He was not idle. He and his brother called on Bishop Perry and had discussions with him on education and church affairs.² With his wife, Bishop Bromby inspected a ship, called the Derwent, at Sandridge. They arranged to sail in her for Hobart on 5 January. On board the Derwent they received James Whyte and C. Meredith, Premier and Finance Minister of Tasmania, and Dr. Officer, Speaker of the House of Assembly. Rev. R. D. Harris, Headmaster of Hobart High School, who was visiting Melbourne, arranged the reception. Bromby wrote to the Secretary of the Launceston Church Union, cancelling arrangements made for his reception in Launceston. He intended going direct to Hobart to be sworn in and assume his duties

-
1. Advertiser, 10 January 1865.
 2. True Briton Journal, op cit.

without delay. Many matters of importance to the diocese awaited his
attention.³ He preached the Christmas Day sermon at St James' Cathedral,
Melbourne,⁴ where his brother was a Canon.⁵ He preached also at Christ
Church, South Yarra, on the morning of 31 December, and assisted Bishop
Perry at a Confirmation Service there in the afternoon. His brother was
acting Incumbent of Christ Church.⁶

The Derwent arrived in Hobart on Saturday morning 7 January at
7.30, somewhat earlier than expected. She had a full complement of pas-
sengers. The Bishop and his family were on board. The bells of Trinity
Church had been ringing ever since the Derwent had been sighted. Shipping
in the harbour displayed all available bunting. In honour of the Bishop
a gun was fired from the Percy, and the flag of the Percy was dipped on the
Derwent passing by. "Numerous persons on board the Cantero and on the
wharf testified their respect by lusty cheers." Davies received Bromby.
He presented Cox, Smith, Parsons and Buckland as representatives of the
clergy, the Mayor and the Governor's Private Secretary, and representatives
of the laity. Bromby, his wife and family then entered the Vice-Regal car-
riage and drove to Government House where they were received by the Governor,
Colonel T. Gore Browne.

At 11 o'clock the same morning Bromby was installed as second
Bishop of Tasmania. The Advertiser, which had long deplored both the

3. Launceston Times, 27 December 1864.

4. Argus, 26 December 1864.

5. R. W. Wilmot (ed.), op cit, p lxiv.

6. ibid.

cathedral and the cathedral services, described the installation as "uninspiring and unimpressive", and the cathedral as "a monstrous abomination,⁷ both architecturally and ecclesiologically". Before a large and representative congregation, including the Registrar of the Diocese, thirteen Southern clergy, and a numerous unsurpliced choir, Davies "accepted" Bromby as Lord Bishop of Tasmania on behalf of the clergy of the diocese; and then installed him. Bromby was "handed by the Archdeacon to the episcopal⁸ chair, and received the pastoral staff at his hands". The Bishop then preached his first Tasmanian sermon from Romans 15:29:

"And I am sure that, when I come unto you, I shall come in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ". He pleaded unity. He denounced partisanship as engendering strife. "That church bears the fullest blessing for mankind," he said, "which is most catholic in its creed and many-sidedness, and most universal in its love."

Bromby had made the first move to implement his planned diocesan policy: "In essential things, unity; in doubtful things, liberty; in all things, charity."

A public reception was held for the Bishop on 9 January 1865 at the Hutchins School, Hobart. Archdeacon Davies and Sir Valentine Fleming, representing the clergy and people, presented the Bishop with an Address of Welcome. The crowd of clergy and people and civic and military dignitaries was so great that the reception, planned to be held in the large schoolroom, was transferred to the playground. Bromby replied to the Address of Welcome. He spoke of the needs of the diocese, as he saw them.

7. Advertiser, 7 January 1865.

8. Advertiser, 9 January 1865.

Especially he wanted a new cathedral as an expression of the character and importance of the diocese. He saw the new cathedral as a representative church and as an example to all Tasmania. Bromby had already consulted his brother-in-law, and, following his plan, he intended to build, if only an aisle, "leaving to a successor the task of completing what he should be permitted to commence". Other wants were these: the development of missionary work in the Furneaux Islands, unity within the diocese especially in churchmanship, and the winning of the working classes back to the Church of England by simplified services and open pews. At the same meeting Rev. Dr. S. Parsons, on behalf of the diocese, presented Archdeacon Davies with an Address and Testimonial "for his faithful work of thirty-five years, the last three of which as Commissary". In his reply Davies made some comparisons. "When I arrived in Tasmania," he said, "the population of Australia was only about 60,000 - 20,000 here and 40,000 in New South Wales. In 1836, Archdeacon Broughton was made Bishop. Now there are no less than 500 ministers of the Church of England and fourteen bishops, a result produced in less than thirty years." Davies resigned the incumbency of St David's Cathedral in 1866, among repeated plaudits. Bromby asked him to retain the post of Archdeacon.

At the beginning, Bromby liked Tasmania but disliked Hobart. "Tasmania is a beautiful island," said Bromby, "which reminds me of home, with its English-looking homesteads and hedge-rows.....so like the old country." ⁹ Tasmania had undergone no striking change such as came to

9. C.N., March 1865.

Victoria with the Gold Rush. It had remained an agricultural community. By the 'sixties, and despite difficulties of transport, the English appearance of Tasmanian towns and country-side had attracted a lively tourist trade from the hotter, more arid colonies. Mainlanders with an atavistic longing for the meadows and woods of northern lands thought Tasmania delightful. They found in Tasmania scarlet geranium, sweetbrier, fuchsia, walnut, filbert and horse-chestnut, the lime tree in blossom, holly, cherry and apple and "the dear old hawthorn of our native land". But Bromby found Hobart vastly different from Cheltenham in Gloucestershire. Small and isolated, conscious of class and embarrassed by its felons, and almost completely lacking in educational and social facilities, Hobart was "Victorian" in a bad sense. "Such publications as Hobart Town Punch, which distinguished the period, are puerile and vulgar. The sporting parsons and John Bull squires are succeeded in these pages by hirsute males (swells) and elderly Babbits....One dislikes the hideous nature of their foppishness." ¹⁰ Contact between Hobart and the rest of Tasmania was difficult. There was no railway, and coaches were few. Bromby's work was to be done by infrequent coastal steamer, by carriage on bad bush roads, or by horseback on still rougher tracks. Both in Hobart and beyond, the state of the Church disturbed Bromby. People generally were ignorant of, or disinterested in, theological matters. Church attendance was poor. Churches and worship were arid. The larger residential quarter outskirting Hobart, consisting of some hundreds of cottages for the humbler classes,

10. C. Turnbull, The Charm of Hobart. (Syd., 1949.)

seemed to make no call on the Church, nor the Church on them. The necessity to pay pew rents in the Church of England kept the poorer people out. Thus the rose and vine-clad porches of the hillside cottages gave Dissenters welcome. Even among church-goers, theological discussion and learned sermons, which issued at length from printing houses, were confined to a few. The rest of the printed material went to the mainland. Infrequent services, conducted for Tasmania's lonely and scattered settlers, were "but dim dreams of other days". Although the Church was "at peace", it was apathetic to the needs of the ordinary working man.

Bromby's early letters show loneliness and homesickness; but he did not shirk his task. His early disappointments were shared by his eldest son, Henry Bodley Bromby, who had come out as his father's chaplain. For his part, the son had been looking forward to helping on the High Church movement in England with his Cambridge friends, rather than making himself "an advocate of that movement in an ignorant, Low-Church land". The change, as the early letters show, was a real sacrifice. To one of his temperament "the outward lineaments of the Catholic Church.....the fair order of the sanctuary, the outward comeliness of the house of God, the oblation of 'whatsoever things are lovely in worship'.....were an integral part of religion itself. All this was completely lacking in the diocese to which he had come. The opportunity for frequent communion, for spiritual direction - this too was lacking." ¹¹ The younger Bromby found much that was distasteful. Even the cathedral church was white-washed. The

11. J. H. B. Mace, Henry Bodley Bromby. (Lond., 1913.), pp 11, 12.

father was naturally wiser and less impetuous than his son. He avoided early criticism; but the son incurred suspicion early, by his "innovations". He wore a gold cross on his watch-chain. He observed the eastward position, and placed floral crosses on altars. He turned to the east for the Creed, and desired the psalms to be chanted. He sought to introduce "Hymns Ancient and Modern". The people objected to all these things. Obviously, the son was not of the same school of thought as the father. While the Bishop urged toleration and shunned partisanship, his son was intolerant and partisan. Although loyal to the Bishop in other matters, the son was an embarrassment to the father and to many of the people.

Within a month of their arrival, the Bishop and his son were travelling throughout the diocese. They conducted numerous Confirmations in town and country churches. Large numbers of candidates were presented. The Bishop spoke encouraging words to church members of the new era. On 2 March 1865 the Bishop journeyed north with Archdeacon Davies. Pontville, Oatlands, Mona Vale, Ross and Campbell Town were visited in quick succession. Confirmation services were held wherever possible. The Bishop then visited Longford, where he was received by T. H. Reibey, whom he had met in England, on behalf of the northern archdeaconry, and by Rev. A. Stackhouse for the parish. From Reibey's Entally House, near Hadspen, the Bishop paid his first visit to Launceston on 8 March. At St John's Church, Launceston, Rev. W. H. Browne, who was incumbent, and sixteen of the remaining eighteen clergy of the northern archdeaconry met the Bishop and heard him preach. Acts 20:27 was the text: "I have not shunned to

declare unto you the whole counsel of God". Once more Bromby appealed for a broad, tolerant approach to church matters. He deplored partisanship. He advised clergy to avoid following exclusively the predilections of one's own mind, and still more claiming for some favourite doctrine the character of a whole gospel. To love the truth required truthfulness of heart, wider than the horizon of petty views, and stronger than the forces of party love.¹² The same evening, Bromby delivered a Lent Lecture at St John's Church, Launceston. A large and curious congregation listened with intense interest.¹³ Every spot of sitting and standing room was crowded. Next day, Bromby attended meetings of the Church Union and the Mechanics' Institute, and conferred with Trustees of the Launceston Church Grammar School over the appointment of W. A. Brooke, a renegade priest, to the post of headmaster. On 10 March, more confirmations were held. Two days later, Bromby preached at both St John's and Holy Trinity Churches, where the discourteous behaviour of pewholders to the "numerous labouring classes" displeased him. "The congregations were not at all disposed to make their churches free and open, even for that important occasion".¹⁴ After visiting Deloraine and staying with Sir Richard Dry at Quamby, Bromby returned to Hobart. Almost immediately, he began a series of Confirmations in and around Hobart. Macquarie Plains, New Norfolk, Franklin and Richmond all saw their Bishop. From the beginning, Bromby made suggestions

12. Launceston Times, 10 March 1865.

13. Cornwall Chronicle, 9 March 1865.

14. C.N., 20 March 1865.

based on his own experience. For example, at Richmond (St Luke's) he had the harmonium and choir removed from the gallery into the body of the church. Bromby had acted similarly when he had first gone to St Paul's, Cheltenham. In this way, he had enhanced the vigour of the service there. He hoped for a similar success at Richmond, but was disappointed. Wherever he went the new bishop was presented with addresses of welcome by the congregations. That of Franklin and Victoria gives a good picture of that part of the diocese and of some of the new bishop's problems. "To secure to us the full efficiency of your overseership," wrote the minister, Thomas Stansfield, "we must not hide from your Lordship any part of our conditions and circumstances"¹⁵. The minister declaimed that the parishioners "were mainly workfolks, possessing little means and less influence,.....sturdy woodsmen and toilful peasants, whose thews and sinews, strung by an indomitable spirit of perseverance, compel the dense forest to surrender, and the virgin soil to yield the valuable mercantile commodities of timber and food....."¹⁶ The erection of the new church had taken all the money they had to spare. The Cure of Franklin had "a seaboard and river line" of eighty miles along D'Entrecasteaux Channel and the River Huon. Since many of the scattered and outlying settlements could be reached only by water, the chaplain visited them but twice a year. "Oh! for the help of some liberal soul who deviseth liberal things," wrote Stansfield, "that another messenger of Him who is the bread of life might

15. C.N., 19 May 1865.

16. ibid.

be sent to them." Having seen something of his diocese, Bromby prepared to face his first Synod (28 March - 5 April 1865). He had increased his list of 'the wants of the diocese', although a cathedral, to be a mother-church, and a type of worship for the diocese, still headed the list. Other wants were: more young clergymen trained before and through their diaconate under experienced elders; a college to help in supplying clergy; grammar schools and more elementary schools for the people; catechising and catechetical lectures, especially in the Sunday services; a reverence and heartiness in public worship, particularly in the element of praise; local endowments, and parsonage houses; provisions for clergy widows and orphans; use of faithful laymen; and unity in faith and doctrine. Bromby was anxious, too, to see to what extent the Synodical form of government could sanction wise action and supply felt wants. He soon had no doubts as to its efficacy. He became an advocate of provincial synods and worked towards the founding of a General Synod.

Bromby became Diocesan at a time when the whole status of the Colonial Church was to come under review. The granting of Colonial self-government was to pose the problems of the relationships of the Colonial Church to the Colonial Governments and to the established Church in England. Bromby sought to consolidate and strengthen his own Diocese, to enhance its relations with the Church in England, and to divorce it from Colonial Government control.

When, in 1872, the provisional planning committee for the first Australian General Synod met in Sydney, Bromby felt a dream was about to be

realised. Also, by the end of 1872, the nave of the new St David's Cathedral in Hobart was sufficiently advanced to allow a children's service to be held in its shell. In eight short years, Bromby was to see well advanced the two great works he had set himself. But fulfilment of the dreams was interlaced with problems. These were the inevitable problems of "disestablishment" in a colonial diocese. The Church's own constitutional structure had to be fashioned; relations with the State had to be settled, especially in respect of finance; and domestic problems had to be solved, as touching the growth of church institutions and the work of individual churchmen. By 1872, when the new cathedral era began, the diocese was sufficiently consolidated for its representatives to speak effectively at provincial meetings. We shall trace the story of the Tasmanian Church in each of these fields, taking each in general survey up to 1872.

Constitutional Structure and Development

On his way out from England Bromby had given much time to the study of colonial synods, then an ecclesiastical novelty.¹⁷ The phenomenon was related to the movement towards colonial self-government. It concerned the relation of the colonial church to the newly established governments and the relation of the colonial church to the established church in England. Bromby's episcopate saw the Tasmanian Synod placed on a firm footing; the extension of the idea of a colonial diocesan synod to that of an Australian

17. True Briton Journal, op cit.

provincial or general synod, with primacy of legislation still held by the diocesan body; and the relation of the colonial church to the English church clarified and modified.

Act 22 Vict. No. 20, of 1858, based on a draft prepared by clergy and laymen of the Church in Tasmania, was an Act to enable the Bishop, Clergy and Laity of the United Church of England and Ireland in Tasmania to regulate its own affairs. The governing body of the Church was called the Synod. The Act which established Synod also gave the Church power to pass its own Acts on all matters affecting Church affairs. Synod did not have to refer these Acts to the State Parliament for ratification. Although Nixon had taken great pride in the establishment of the Tasmanian Synod; and had regarded it as the one great victory of his episcopate,¹⁸ Bromby approached his first Synod with a feeling of uncertainty. The will of the Bishop, he knew, was not always the law of Synod. At the outset Bromby hoped he could trust Synod; only at the conclusion of the 1865 Synod did he know he could. Even some of the clergy thought that a Synod was an encroachment upon the rights of the Episcopate and that its proceedings would only lead to an unseemly struggle for authority. But such fears as Bromby had were groundless. The Clergy could do nothing without the lay members, and neither of them without the Bishop. If Bromby had the misfortune to differ from the Clergy, he might still be supported by the laity. If he ever found that he differed from both, "it would perhaps be time to think," wrote Bromby, "whether there might not be something wrong in myself."

18. C.N., 20 April 1865.

reference?

However, if he were right, Bromby hoped he would always have the moral courage to exercise his right of veto which was ceded to him by the constitution of Synod or the terms of his Letters Patent which also afforded him right of appeal first to Sydney as Metropolitan, and then to Canterbury and the English courts. At his first Tasmanian Synod, Bromby tried to widen the clerical membership. He was successful, although the measure was regarded as revolutionary by some lay members. All clergymen holding the Bishop's licence, though not actually "in cure of souls", were to be admitted as members of Synod. "In cure of souls" was hitherto an indispensable qualification for clerical membership. The immediate effect of the measure was to introduce three or four clergymen whose wisdom and advice might prove invaluable. One was R. Harris, Headmaster of the Hobart High School; another was J. Buckland, Headmaster of the Hutchins School. Bromby also sought to have synodical resolutions more thoroughly discussed. Henceforth they were to be read three times before they could become permanent. In addition he had the powers of his Council of Advice enlarged. The Council of Advice was a body of clergy and laity, formed in 1860, which the Bishop could consult on diocesan business. It could now confer with the Bishop when Synod was not in session upon any matter, save finance, which might be entertained by Synod. The Council could advise the Bishop on matters of business for the ensuing session.

The 1865 Synod revealed antagonisms and jealousies between the Northern and Southern Archdeaconries, manifested in both clerical and law quarters, which have been a recurring characteristic in Tasmanian Church

history. Bromby felt that if a Tasmanian Synod were to be effective at all it should be as representative and as unified as the Tasmanian parliament itself. A governing body based on bickering and a division of interests would be useless. Earlier, at a meeting of the Launceston Church Union, during Bromby's first tour of the North, Rev. F. Hales, of Holy Trinity, Launceston, spoke of the grievances which the northern archdeaconry nursed. The archdeaconry could either send its representatives to a Synod which met only at Hobart, or remain unrepresented.¹⁹ Expense incurred by attending Synod was the reason given for the non-attendance of northern Synodsmen; but they were unwilling to confer with the South. As we have seen, two Finance Committees had been established, one for each Archdeaconry, to collect and administer Church funds and to assist in paying stipends. The northern Finance Committee had been much more successful than the Southern.²⁰ Its success gave the North a desire for its own administrative organisation. Some still wanted a Bishop for the North. Bromby, having heard the grievances, committed himself to call Synod in Launceston in 1866. He altered his plans when he discovered the feelings of the Synod meeting in Hobart. Bromby put the question to the 1865 Synod: "Ought Synod to meet occasionally at Launceston?" The Church Advocate, W. Dobson, led a strong dissenting group. "Weakness and not strength," he declared, "a division of interests and not mutual support would be the result of meetings held sometimes on one side of the island,

19. Launceston Times, 10 March 1865.

20. D.S.T., 1859:1865, passim.

21
sometimes on the other." Synod members, almost exclusively southern, voted against a dual Synod location. Bromby decided to postpone attempts to achieve diocesan synodical consolidation. He would work tactfully through members of his Council of Advice. Meanwhile, in 1866, he sowed the seed of what was to become a system of Rural Deanery Boards or meetings. Bromby hoped that Rural Deaneries would manage Church affairs deputed by Synod in places remote from Synod's meeting point. He saw such boards as comprising the Archdeacon or Rural Dean, all the licensed clergy within the limits of the Rural Deanery, and one lay representative of each parish, chosen in the same way as Synodsmen. Bromby thought one such Rural Deanery might be organised at Campbell Town or Ross and another on the North Coast at Table Cape.

Bromby was disappointed with the attendance at the 1867 Synod. Only nineteen clergy and twenty-nine laymen were present. The Northern Archdeaconry was represented by only four of its laymen. None of its clergy was present. Bromby feared the Northern churchmen's desire to assert their independence. He sought advice from the north. On 17 June 1867, the clergy and Synodsmen of the Northern Archdeaconry met at Launceston. They passed four resolutions: first, that the interests of the Northern Archdeaconry were not sufficiently represented in Synod in consequence of the Synod always meeting in Hobart; second, that the Synod "be moved to confide the administration and control of the financial affairs of the Archdeaconry to a Committee to consist of the Bishop, the

Archdeacon, and the Clergy and Lay Synodsmen of the Archdeaconry voting as in Synod; third, that the future meetings of Synod be held in Hobart and Launceston alternately, or always at Oatlands; fourth, that the system of voting by proxy, as suggested by the Select Committee of Synod, would be entirely unsatisfactory. The Bishop had already discussed these matters with his Council of Advice. In September 1867, the Council of Advice met again in Hobart. Its third recommendation was: "That Synod should be held, as an experiment, at Launceston either once in three years or alternately with Hobart". The recommendation was passed unanimously. Launceston was to have its Synod in 1868. Bromby summoned it for 10 February. As only fifteen members came, it was adjourned till the following day. Eventually twenty-seven clergy and eighteen laymen attended. Only five clergy and three laymen came from the South. None-the-less Bromby could say that for the first time he felt he was Bishop of a single diocese. For some years the Synod was weighted in favour of the Archdeaconry in which it was held. The achievement of a dual location for Synod was important. Slowly Synod was regarded as the focal point of diocesan unity.

As Bromby was enhancing diocesan unity by consolidating and strengthening the Tasmanian Synod, the whole status of the Colonial Church was coming under review. The validity of the "letters patent", by which Colonial Bishops were appointed, was questioned; and the power of Colonial Bishops was challenged. In Australia, the case of Rev. George King v the Bishop of Sydney (1861) is noteworthy. Frederic Barker, Bishop of Sydney,

had wanted to discipline King for insubordination. King sought a prohibition order against his Bishop, and appealed to the New South Wales Supreme Court. The judgment of Chief Justice Dickinson and Mr. Justice Wise was the most complete statement delivered in New South Wales up to that time of the Colonial Church's legal position. Details are contained in Legge's Supreme Court Cases.

"Her Majesty had no power to introduce into this Colony, by Her Letters Patent of appointment to the bishopric of Sydney the law and method of proceeding by which the bishops in England and Ireland are enabled to enforce discipline over their clergy"; ... "the King's Ecclesiastical Law of England had no applicability to the circumstances of this Colony..."; "The Christians in this Colony who were or would be members of the Established Church in the United Kingdom, have never in any statute been recognised as being members of a Church Established here by Law, any more than the members of the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Independent, Unitarian or Jewish congregations have been"; ... "having here no tithes, no church rates, no spiritual peers ... there being no circumstances which assimilate the political status of the Church of England members and that of the same class of Christians in the United Kingdom, it is obvious that the laws by which the Church of England is regulated there can have no applicability to congregations professing the same principles of religion here, and acknowledging the fitness of the same kind of church government"; ... "As the Church law cannot be here applied, the Courts by which in England that law has been administered cannot be considered applicable to our circumstances". "I am therefore of opinion," wrote Mr. Justice Wise, "that the legal powers of the Bishop of Sydney must be sought in and limited by the colonial statutes."

Summing up, the Court had ruled that Colonial Churches were not "established" by law; that it was doubtful if English ecclesiastical law was effective at all in Australian and other colonies; that the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown with respect to Letters Patent appeared to be ultra vires. It was clear that the discipline, order and good gov-

ernment of the whole Church rested upon the question of the legal nexus between the Colonial Church and the Church of England.

Events in England and South Africa confirmed the ruling of the New South Wales Supreme Court in respect of the Colonial Church generally. In 1857, the Court of Queen's Bench had decided that a colonial bishop had not, in the eyes of the law, the legal privileges of a bishop of the Church of England. It maintained, for example, that the diocese of Christchurch, New Zealand, was not a diocese of the Church of England,²² and that its bishop could not be regarded as a prelate of that church. In South Africa, in the case of *Rev W. Long v Bishop Robert Gray*, of Cape Town, (1861), Long appealed against his Bishop to the Judicial Committee to the Privy Council in England. The judgment of the Privy Council ran as follows:

"The Church of England, in places where there is no Church established by law, is in the same position with any other religious body: and the members may adopt, as the members of any other communion may adopt, rules for enforcing discipline within their body, which will be binding upon those who expressly, or by implication, have assented to them. But even if tribunals are established, they are not in any sense courts. They derive no authority from the Crown, they have no power to enforce their sentences, they must apply for that purpose to the Courts established by law, and such Courts will give effect to their decisions as they will give effect to the decision of arbitrators, whose jurisdiction rests entirely upon the agreement of the parties. These are the principles upon which the Courts in this country have always acted in the disputes between members of the same religious bodies -- not being members of the Church of England."²³

-
22. F. T. Whittington, Ancient and Modern Church Law, (Hobart, 1910.), p 23.
23. R. J. Phillimore, Ecclesiastical Law. (Lond., 1895.), ii, p 2,245.

Another case concerned the same Bishop of Cape Town and J. W. Colenso, Bishop of Natal. Colenso had offended Gray by his Commentary on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans (1861) and his Criticism of the Pentateuch, the first three volumes of which he had published by 1863. In the first work, Colenso had struck at the roots of covenant and privilege; he could not hold with "election" or with the doctrine of a "chosen people", for such ideas seemed to exclude his beloved "intelligent Zulus". According to Gray, the work bristled from beginning to end with heresies. In the second work, Colenso attacked literal interpretation of the Scriptures. Colenso maintained that his conclusions in both these works could lawfully be maintained by a clergyman of the Church of England. Robert Gray claimed, by the terms of his Letters Patent, to exercise coercive jurisdiction over Colenso as his Metropolitan. Colenso denied this claim, because it could affect his civil rights and episcopal doctrinal directions. Colenso sought to appeal to the civil courts. Gray protested against the tyranny of civil courts, and resolved to allow no further appeals to them. He insisted that he had a power to try and, if need be, to condemn and depose the Bishop of Natal. At Cape Town, he constituted a court for Colenso's so-called trial. Colenso appeared by proxy, simply to protest against Bishop Gray's jurisdiction. One is amazed at Gray's temerity in calling Colenso to trial, in the face of the Privy Council's ruling in the Long Case. On 16 December 1863, Gray pronounced sentence of deposition. Colenso disregarded the sentence. Gray then followed the sentence of deposition by what he termed the greater excommunication. Colenso ap-

pealed to the Crown. On 20 March 1865, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council pronounced the whole of these proceedings null and void in law.

By the 1865 judgment, following Colenso's appeal, the Privy Council added to its earlier definition of the status of the Church in the Colony. Letters Patent of a Colonial Bishop conferred no coercive legal jurisdiction in a Colony possessing responsible government. Hence the deposition by Bishop Gray, as Metropolitan, of Dr. Colenso from his bishopric, was null and void. Colenso was entitled to continue his occupation of the cathedral of Natal, and the receipt of the emoluments of the See. The ground for the Privy Council's decision was that the Crown had by law no power even to constitute a Bishop or to confer coercive jurisdiction within any colony possessing an independent legislature, and that the Letters Patent which purported to create the See of Cape Town and the See of Natal were issued after those colonies, respectively, had acquired such legislatures. Consequently, the Sees did not exist. Neither Bishop was in the eye of the law Bishop of his supposed See; neither of them had in law any jurisdiction whatever. Although it followed that the original judgment had no legal force, did it follow that the Crown had legal authority to declare it void? The Committee of the Privy Council spoke on this point. It ruled that the two bishops were ecclesiastical persons, that they had been created bishops by the Queen in exercise of her authority as Sovereign of the realm and head of the Established Church; that they received and held their dioceses under grants made by the Crown; and that they

were the creatures of English law. At the end the Committee said that the Queen, as head of the Established Church, was depositary of the ultimate ecclesiastical jurisdiction; they referred to the Act of 25th Henry VIII which, coupled with a previous Act, defined the course of Ecclesiastical appeals - from Archdeacon to Bishop, Archbishop, and finally the Crown. Moreover, the Committee observed that, if there were no final resort to the Sovereign in such a case as this, there would be a denial of justice. There was obvious confusion and an Erastian flavour about the whole judgment.

The judge who presided at the pronouncement of the judgment, Lord Chancellor Westbury, was the very person who, as Attorney-General, had drawn the Letters Patent which he now pronounced to be null and void at law.

Bromby was interested in the judgment, and not least of all on personal grounds. We have seen that in Tasmania's earliest days the Imperial parliament had held itself responsible for dispensing religious instruction, paying chaplains and building churches. By letters patent, Bishop Nixon entered upon his episcopal duties; but his right to try was soon challenged and was cancelled by parliament. Both the Church and the Bishop were kept subservient to government legislation. However, in the eyes of the law, Nixon was Bishop of a legally established diocese; and this position was acknowledged by the Colony when Tasmania became a self-governing legislature. However, Bromby was appointed by Letters Patent; he was not appointed by the Government of Tasmania, nor by Synod empowered by parliament to enact legislation for the Church. Synod by law could ap-

point its officers, but had no power to appoint its own Bishop. In view of the Privy Council judgments, what was Bromby's status as Bishop? Although the See existed, was he legally the occupant of it? Supposing he personally were to put into practice existing machinery for church discipline, could it be in any way effective? To what extent had the judgment trespassed on his own civil rights and of those of the clergy whom he had ordained in Tasmania? If he were not Bishop, were his ordinations valid?

Bromby looked more closely at the 1865 Judgment of the Privy Council, and particularly at the section dealing with the Crown's legal authority to declare the original Colenso judgment void. Bromby ventured to lay down propositions of law drawn from the Privy Council Committee's own judgments. Bishop Gray, said Bromby, was not, in Cape Town, a member of any established Church, but of a mere voluntary society. He was not, and could not be, created a Bishop in Cape Town by the Queen in exercise of her authority as Sovereign of the realm or as head of the established church, because the Queen had no such authority to make a Bishop in Cape Town where there was no established church. Gray did not receive and did not hold his diocese under a grant made by the Crown, for the alleged grant was void. He was not, in Cape Town, a creature of English law, for English law had created, in Cape Town, no such office as that of Bishop. The Queen was not, as regards Cape Town, the depositary of the ultimate ecclesiastical jurisdiction, because there was no ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Cape Town. For the same reason, the Act of Henry VIII, which regulated the course of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, could not possibly apply to Cape

Town. As there were, in and for Cape Town, no legal Courts of Archdeacons, Bishops or Archbishop, so neither was there, nor could there be, a legal Court of final appeal from them. A possible denial of justice afforded no more ground in law for the Queen's interference, at the Cape, in the affairs of a voluntary body of religionists called Episcopalians or Churchmen than in those of the voluntary bodies called Baptists or Wesleyans. Indeed the Crown, otherwise than under an Act of Parliament, had not by law any power to appoint, or command an Archbishop to consecrate, any Bishop, except a Bishop of a legal See. Bishop Gray was Bishop by Act of consecration only, and not by any mandate or appointment of the Crown. The Crown, whenever it decided ecclesiastical causes in the last resort, did so as a court exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and in exercise of a judicial power entrusted to it and regulated by law, just as the House of Lords decided civil causes in the last resort as a Court and in exercise of a delegated and regulated power. No distinction on this point could be drawn from the fact that the Sovereign acts personally in the one case and not in the other. The idea of an autocratic and indefinite power of "headship", armed with coercive jurisdiction, and extending not only over English citizens at home but over mere voluntary societies in the colonies having no legal status whatever, "was not only odious but absurd". Bromby was one of the first colonial bishops to realise the need for "disestablishment" of the Church in the Colonies: the need to free it from civil legislative and legal restrictions except in matters affecting civil rights, and to develop a chain of 'spiritual' provincial synods linked

to Canterbury. Bromby's own uncertainty of tenure in Tasmania, his sympathetic leaning to Colenso's right of enquiry and the signs of the times manifested in the Colonial Church itself made him press a strongly anti-Erastian attitude. Bromby was equally persuaded to do this by the disturbing and unsettling nature of the judgments of the Privy Council in ecclesiastical matters which he regarded as "heaps of negations, set forth in a mass of legal verbiage". One can sympathise with Bromby. In the 1865 judgment there was one who appealed, but he was a non-entity. There was a respondent - but he was a non-entity likewise. There was a judgment appealed from -- but that too was a nonentity. The Court which pronounced the judgment was a nonentity. So was the law under which the Court proceeded. There was not a single item in the case which had any real significance. The whole affair was made up of unsubstantial shadows. A Bishop who had no diocese was arraigned before a Metropolitan who had no province. The lack-Province Metropolitan convened a Court which had no jurisdiction, proceeded according to a law which had no force, and pronounced a sentence which had no validity. And from this sentence, by way of climax, the Judicial Committee heard an Appeal which was in vacuo. Bromby declaimed that the judgment virtually reduced the final court of appeal into a non-entity in relation to non-established branches of the Church in the colonies. This implied that freedom already existed for the Colonial Church. The freedom had to be grasped. The Colonial Church must organise itself. "Temporal jurisdiction had been the weakness of the Church," said Bromby. "The imperishable basis of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was the primitive,

unalterable truth -- that spiritual causes must be spiritually discerned. It was not necessary for the Church to be encumbered with the legal notions of the civil power."

Another attempt was made to hinder or stop Colenso's work. The trustees of the Colonial Bishops' Fund refused to pay him his episcopal income. The problem was brought before the Rolls Court which declared in Colenso's favour. The judgment was given 9 November 1866. The two Colenso judgments finally gave the death blow to the issue of letters patent. Such issue ceased from 1866. But it was not until 1873 that it was formally laid down that this was to be so. Bromby's letters patent were never recalled. It was not until 1880, when he was visiting England, that he heard that no further appointments would be made by the Crown to the Tasmanian See. When Bromby tried to resign, in 1882, he could not do so. His letters patent required that he resign through the Bishop of Sydney to the English parliament. The Bishop of Sydney had just died. No further resignations were to be received by a Sydney bishop from colonial dioceses. Bromby sent a puzzled note to the Tasmanian Parliament..."I want to resign, but cannot. How can I resign?" In 1882, provision was made for the resignation and appointment of Bishops to and by the Tasmanian Synod. An amendment was passed to the original Act constituting the Synod for the administration of the affairs of the Church of England in the Diocese of Tasmania.

Meanwhile, Natal appealed through Cape Town to Canterbury for the appointment of a new Bishop. In Natal, although crowded churches listened to the "deposed" Bishop, who began to exalt more and more the State as a

type of God to be worshipped, the Dean and many of the clergy refused to have anything to do with Colenso. Services for the orthodox were held separately from services for the heretics. Other bishops gave voluntary obedience to Gray as Metropolitan in South Africa. Canterbury and the English bishops deferred to Gray in South African Church matters. The "new" Church established by Colenso was not recognised by the English, South African or Colonial bishops. Canterbury decided to proceed to the appointment of a Bishop of Natal, but with a different name. It would be now Bishop of Maritzburg, the cathedral town. The large missionary organisations in England withdrew finances from Colenso, and they placed them in the hands of Canterbury for the use of the new Bishop of Maritzburg. The problem was to find a man of "sound" doctrine and with an adequate experience of colonial affairs who would be prepared to accept the appointment.

In due time, the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to the Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown:

"I have been making diligent enquiry, and from what I can learn, I believe that the Rev F H Cox, at present at Hobart Town, is eminently qualified for the post."

The Bishop of Oxford sent word of the nomination to Rev. Frederick Holdship Cox who was then incumbent of St John Baptist parish Hobart. Cox received news of his nomination with "unqualified surprise". Cox had been active in church life in the colonies for just on twenty years. He was keenly interested in Synod of which he was Secretary. He was a keen biblical student and had joined in bible lectures in the Hobart theatre which had begun after the spread of the news of Colenso's heresies, and which were

thronged each week. "After much serious consideration," wrote Cox, "I declared myself ready to accept the call if it should prove to be acceptable to the Church in Natal." This was in March 1866. The mail received on 16 May 1866 brought a renewal of the nomination. The Bishop of Grahamstown, South Africa, also approved the nomination, and was prepared to join with Cape Town in the consecration. The Bishop of Cape Town wrote that

"the Bishops of the Province will all concur in an appointment thus recommended by the Archbishop, and that the greater number of the Clergy, and a very considerable number of the laity will join in the election, while some will probably hold back in consequence of their views about the Royal Supremacy".

Cox knew that in accepting Maritzburg, he would hold a purely spiritual charge perhaps in no way recognised by the States. His authority would be derived solely from the Church's consecration and could be exercised only in those quarters where there was full willingness to receive it. Perhaps this would be brought into conflict with a rival authority which, in a secular sense, seemed to have possession of the field. The experiment, within the Church of England, at least, would be a novel, and to some extent a perilous one. Cox felt it worth trying. Bromby encouraged him to go ahead. The whole Tasmanian church was flattered and encouraged that one of its members should be chosen to make this experiment in the spiritual field. However, lack of immediate unanimity among Bishops in Convocation in Canterbury caused Cox to withdraw his acceptance of the nomination. It was not until after the first Pan-Anglican Synod of 1867 that the Queen issued special mandates to Archbishop Longley of Canterbury

authorising him to arrange for the consecration of Rev. W. K. Macrorie as Bishop of Maritzburg in January 1868. The South African local legislature concurred. A new name and title were superimposed on the old Bishopric of Natal. Macrorie was made Bishop "without the legal powers which have heretofore been conferred or purport to have been conferred by Letters Patent". Colenso himself, through lack of support from Canterbury and neighbouring colonial dioceses, withdrew more and more from active participation in Church affairs. He concentrated on improving conditions of the Zulus. He continued writing his Criticism of the Pentateuch, but it held only an intellectual interest for churchmen and scholars. Colenso continued to criticise current Christian doctrine and even queried the divinity of Jesus Christ. He suffered greatly from misunderstanding and misrepresentation at the time of the invasion of Zululand in 1878. Colenso denounced the Zulu War and exposed the corruption of some Colonial officials and their tyranny to the natives. He died in Pietermaritzburg on 20 June 1883, a disillusioned Christian and a disillusioned civil servant.

Bromby, foreseeing the time when the Australian Church could also be free of State control, yet held by unseen ties of affection and doctrine to Canterbury, determined to do his utmost to "make straight the paths" for the coming of that time. The task was more easily seen than done. Bromby's correspondence with Bishop G. A. Selwyn of New Zealand revealed self-limitations of the Colonial Church. The Anglican Communion in the British Empire might have been an entirely free and self-governing body if it had followed the advice given by Gladstone in 1851, and framed its constitutions

upon the basis of voluntary consensual compact — "the basis", wrote Mr. Gladstone, "on which the Church of Christ rested from the first". The counsel of the great English commoner was adopted by Selwyn of New Zealand and Bishop Short of Adelaide; but in almost every Australasian diocese the principle of voluntary association had been conditioned by a declaration that the diocese bound itself not to depart from the "authorised standards of faith and doctrine" of the Church of England. This would seem to have destroyed the complete freedom of the Colonial Churches in Australasia. Take one illustration. The principal of the authorised standards of the Mother Church is the Book of Common Prayer — and this is a schedule of an English Act of Parliament. If, then, a colonial diocese departed to any radical extent from the Articles and other Formularies of the Prayer Book as they are observed in England, it would apparently thereby break its fundamental constitution, and sever its integral relationship with the Church of England. And if this is so, the converse would also be true — that so long as such diocese carefully adheres to the "authorised standards" of the Church in England, it remains in legal relation to that Church. It should further be observed that identification with the Mother Church by adopting its "authorised standards of Faith and Doctrine" carried with it the imposition of the judicial decisions in England in respect to those standards. Bromby found that the Diocese of Tasmania was limited in this way. In matters of doctrine and practices of ritual she remained conditioned by the rulings of the Privy Council. As many of the clergy, under the leadership of his own son and chaplain, were under the influence of the Oxford Movement, and were trying at this stage to introduce practices not

in conformity with the Prayer Book, Bromby incurred their displeasure by adopting a middle line, discouraging partisanship, and dissuading men of party line from entering the diocese. In consequence, the diocese lost the services of a number of vital clergymen. Bromby was not at all happy with the position he had to take. Not always did Privy Council judgments suit the local Tasmanian situation. He hoped for the time when the Australian church could make its own policy touching such matters in the Australian ecclesiastical scene.

Tasmania, along with other Australian dioceses, was also limited by its having enshrined constitution in a local Act of Parliament. The Tasmanian "Church Constitution" Act, as we have seen, gave Synod power to legislate generally "respecting the affairs of the said Church". Again, Bromby attended his first Synod in 1865 with some trepidation, but spoke warmly of its working at the end of his first session. However, when the judgments of the Colenso Case made Bromby look for an organised free church of Australia, he realised that the Act constituting the Synod contained no clause, of any kind, which would dis sever the Church from the Church of England. Bromby did not regret this. He would work for amendments, and aim at the development of the synodical form of government so that we could have Australian or Provincial Synods working under spiritual direction from Canterbury. He would hope that the English courts would lean towards giving the fullest possible freedom in the direction of Australian self-government.

Bromby set himself two tasks. He wanted to make Synod independent

of Government control on the financial side. He also wanted closer affiliation with other dioceses in matters of doctrine and church discipline. In the first of these tasks he was entirely successful; and he did much towards furthering the movement for the adoption of an Australian Church constitution through the agency of an Australian General Synod. Bromby was responsible for committing Tasmania to help in the movement towards the establishment of an Australian church. However, he was wary of committing himself to any judgments on disciplinary or doctrinal matters. He knew that his own Letters Patent would not stand the test of legal proceedings. Although he tried to make Tasmanian Disciplinary provisions more satisfactory, he at all times tried to act as pastor and arbitrator without calling the Church triers to act; and his tact was usually adequate. In the one case, the case of Thomas Reibey, where the calling of the Church Court might have prevented the spread of the news of a clerical scandal, he engineered the trial in the civil courts, because he saw clearly that civil rights were involved. Any decision of his could have been the subject of an appeal to the civil courts, and his own flimsy legal standing in Tasmania could have been subjected to embarrassing scrutiny and action.

Bromby was strongly anti-Erastian; but he was not anti-English. He knew something of the limitations of government in the established Church in England, and he saw the difficulties of the Church in a colonial setting. Although Bromby saw the best future for the Colonial Church in its separation from the State, he nevertheless felt that its way must lie in union with Canterbury. It was clear that the whole status of the colon-

ial Church must be clarified. On 13 October 1866, the Bishop of London wrote to all Colonial Bishops. He anticipated correctly that the connection of the Colonial Church with the Mother Church in England would be discussed at the pending session of the British Parliament. He sought advice from the colonial dioceses on four points.²⁴ First, what was the desirableness or otherwise of all Bishops in British Colonies receiving their mission from the See of Canterbury, and taking the oath of canonical obedience to the Archbishop? Second, was it desirable that there should be an appeal in graver cases from the judgments of Church Courts or decisions of Bishops or Synods in the Colonies to any authority in England; and, if so (1) to what authority, (2) under what restrictions? (3) how far was the Royal Supremacy, as acknowledged by the United Church of England and Ireland, to be maintained in the Colonial Churches? (4) what seemed the best guarantee for maintaining unity of doctrine and discipline between the different scattered branches of the Church in the Colonies?

Bromby discussed the questions with his Council of Advice. He drafted a reply which he referred to the Tasmanian Synod assembled in Hobart in 1867. As Bromby saw it, the scope of the Bishop of London's enquiry was whether the Colonial Churches should be branches of the United Church of England and Ireland or become independent Churches holding communion with the Mother Church in England. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction had been at all times determined by the accidents of political boundaries. But no exact precedent could be found of a political power, such as England,

24. C.N., 1 February 1867.

diffusing itself by a world-wide emigration. Bromby felt that the development of the "external machinery" of the Church in the Colonies should proceed *pari passu* with that of the State. As in political, so in ecclesiastical matters, Colonies should be taught independence gradually. The year 1867 saw the Colonies in a transitional position. They were partly independent and partly dependent on England. Therefore, Bromby felt that perhaps the Mother Church should dictate to the Colonies on what terms she would recognize a permanent union, and what safeguards were necessary for the future welfare of the Colonies. Eventually the Mother Church would have to define those limits. Already Bromby was in correspondence with other Australian Bishops on the matter of a Provincial Synod and the Tasmanian Synod had appointed a Select Committee, to be reappointed over the next five years, to correspond with other Australian dioceses on the subject. Bromby hoped that any other Colonial Churches which were sufficiently developed would consider the chances of establishing Provincial Synods. The work of such Synods, as he saw it, should be: first, to advise on decisions in faith and discipline of diocesan synods comprised within the province; second, to become the points of contact between the Mother Church and the Colonial Churches; third, to appoint bishops over the colonial dioceses, with the suffrage and consent of the latter; fourth, to exercise certain control over colonial bishops in matters of schism and heresy.

Bromby had clearly become an ardent supporter of Synods. In answering the Bishop of London, he based a clear picture of unity and af-

filiation upon provincial synodical organisation. He wanted the colonial bishops eventually to be appointed by Provincial Synods with the consent of the colonial dioceses over which they were to exercise episcopal jurisdiction. But where there existed no Metropolitan, the oath of canonical obedience should be taken to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as virtually the Metropolitan. However, in cases where a Metropolitan existed, the oath of obedience was due to him. Such Metropolitans were subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury as "an ecumenical Patriarch of the whole Anglican Church". The Archbishop of Canterbury should have a voice in the appointment of the Metropolitan. Concerning appeals from Church Courts, Bromby thought it would be time to ask for ecclesiastical independence when political independence had been gained. All original jurisdiction should belong by right to Colonial Church Courts. From these, the first appeal should lie to the Supreme Court of the Colony, as far as concerned the social consequences which might flow from ecclesiastical acts. However, in questions of pure faith and doctrine, the appeal might lie to Provincial Synods. From both, the ultimate appeal should be to the Crown. Bromby thought the Bishop of Natal in error when he appealed to the original jurisdiction of any home court. Also, the Royal Supremacy should be acknowledged so long as the Colony was not independent of the Crown. It should be defined within the limits laid down in the thirty-seventh article of the Church. The Article reads:

"The King's Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of (England), and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all cases doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction..... (The King's Majesty) should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they

be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and the evildoers".²⁵

Such a course would be the best security of the Colonial Churches' right of appeal to the Crown from their own civil courts. Concerning the maintenance of unity and discipline between the different scattered branches of the Colonial Church, Bromby felt the true guarantee lay in the establishment of the Provincial Synods. The decrees of Provincial Synods should check those of the different Churches. They should be restrained, in their turn, by a General or National Council or Synod in England. This Council or Synod could represent all the scattered branches in recognised communion with the English Church. It is remarkable that a policy almost identical with that outlined by Bromby came to pass. Bromby counselled no hasty legislation. If a change were to take place, he favoured a gradual and transitional progress towards ecclesiastical as towards political independence. He would not have the Colonial Church surrender her "letters patent" nor yet the Queen's supremacy. But he would have them defined as to leave the Colonial Churches at liberty to choose their Bishops either from England or elsewhere as they saw fit. Actually his own successor was chosen from Scotland. Further, Bromby held that to secure unity with the Mother Church in England by surrendering independence for all time, would "betray a want of faith in the Divine promise that Christ would be with us to the end of the world". The true guarantee for maintaining unity in the several branches of the Anglican

25. The Book of Common Prayer.

Church ultimately lay, as always, in the establishment of Provincial Synods. At Bromby's instigation, the Select Committees of Synod, which had been formed to discuss the establishment of Provincial Synods, met frequently during the recesses and reported not only to Synod but to meetings of the Bishop's Council of Advice. The 1868 Synod considered the Colonial Clergy Act passed by the British Parliament. This aimed to limit the ministry of colonially ordained men to the Colonies in which they were ordained. It was one of the first steps in a move to separate legally English from Colonial episcopacy. The Tasmanian Synod passed a Resolution (No. 8) which read:

"It is expedient that by an Act of the Imperial Legislature any doubt that exists as to Status in England should be as soon as possible removed, so that colonial clergymen may be capable of discharging spiritual functions and holding preferment with the same rights as clergymen ordained in England".²⁶

Moreover, with reference to the proposed further Imperial Legislation for the Colonial Church, Bromby maintained that Synod itself should nominate its future Bishops, and that these Bishops should receive consecration at the hands of the Metropolitan and of his comprovincial Bishops, or of the Archbishop of Canterbury under licence from the Crown, if a petition be presented to the Secretary of State for that purpose.²⁷ Synod found itself considering matters of world-wide import. Bromby was careful to explain implications of any decisions made. Synod took itself more seriously. Public and parliament took it more seriously; they even sought

26. D.S.T., 1868.

27. C.N., 2 March 1868.

its support and advice. Colonial newspapers and the English Colonial Church Chronicle carried reports and comments on Synodical sessions. The Colenso case led not only to a consolidation of diocesan Synods themselves, but ultimately to a relationship between Colonial Churches and the Mother Church similar in texture to that of Dominion and Imperial Parliaments. It led also to inter-diocesan discussions in Australia of ways and means to establish a Provincial Synod. Events moved rapidly. Within six years the framework of future Provincial Synods in Australia had been constructed. The Provincial or General Synod became the mouth-piece for Australia in later discussions and legislation affecting the Mother and the Colonial Churches.

There were two events of great importance which preceded the establishment of the Australian General Synod. One was the recommendation by the 1860 Convocation of Canterbury that there should be "a regular gradation of duly constituted Synods to settle all questions affecting unity within the Church: diocesan Synods determining all matters not ordered by the Synod of the Provinces; Provincial Synods determining all matters not ordered by a National Synod; a National Synod ordering all matters not determined by a General Council. Unity with necessary variety might thus be secured to our spreading branch of the Holy Catholic Church". The other event was the pan-anglican Conference of 1867, the first of the Lambeth Conferences, which expressed the opinion that "unity in faith and discipline will best be maintained among the several branches of the Anglican Communion by due and canonical subordination of the Synods of the



Bishops' Conference, Sydney.

23 November-1 December 1868.

Seated: C. H. Bromby, Tasmania; F. Barker, Sydney;
C. Perry, Melbourne; E. W. Tufnell, Brisbane;

Standing: Mesac Thomas, Goulburn; W. Tyrrell, Newcastle;
A. Short, Adelaide.

several branches to the higher authority of a Synod or Synods above them.²⁸ The implication is that the Australian bishops knew of these resolutions and were influenced by them. But Sydney and Goulburn, for instance, had²⁹ decided against them. They believed that diocese was the final and ultimate unit of authority, subordinate only to the provisions of "letters patent". "The dispute as to where legal authority lay within the Church of England in Australia paralysed the Church constitutionally in the second half of the nineteenth century and stultified effective corporate action for almost a century."³⁰ On 28 February 1867, Bishop Mesac Thomas told his Synod that "there are advocates of a more extended Provincial Synod, which would compromise all the Synods of the dioceses, assigned as an ecclesiastical Province to the Metropolitan in his 'letters patent'".³¹ But Mesac Thomas opposed such a General Synod on the grounds that it could have no legislative force. Some Synods were constituted by "consensual compact" and others, such as Tasmania's, by "legislative enactment". They appeared to present an incompatible picture. And since it was difficult to see how any "extended" Provincial Synod could enforce the laws it enacted, any such meeting would be not a Synod but merely a "congress". The Metropolitan could already call such a Congress whenever he desired. But Mesac Thomas declaimed that "it was essential to good government that any Pro-

28. R. A. Giles, op cit, p 147

29. R. Border, Church and State in Australia, 1788-1872 (Lond., 1962.), p 259.

30. *ibid.*

*One main
reason why.*

31. Report of the 1867 Synod, Goulburn, 1867. (Goulburn, 1868), p 10.

vincial Synod, if called, as well as the Diocesan Synod, should possess powers of action equally defined and universally acknowledged, together with the authority to enforce its regulations and decisions".³²

Although a Metropolitan Bishop was not clothed by the law of the State with "coercive jurisdiction" he could still exercise a real power and influence over those who were willing to acknowledge him for their Metropolitan. The dioceses of Australia and Tasmania gave cheerful acknowledgement to the See of Sydney. The Metropolitan Bishop of Sydney took advantage of this loyalty to call the Australian bishops together for conference and the consecration of St Andrew's Cathedral Sydney at the close of 1868. The response to the *Summons* by the Bishop of Sydney in 1850 was cordial and unanimous. There was a similar response in 1868. Seven bishops were present at the Consecration of St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, on 30 November 1868. They were C. H. Bromby of Tasmania, Frederic Barker of Sydney, Charles Perry of Melbourne, E. W. Tufnell of Brisbane, Mesac Thomas of Goulburn, W. Tyrrell of Newcastle and Augustus Short of Adelaide. The bishops met in conference from 23 November until 1 December. They declared that "the present relation of the Church of England in the Province of Australia to the Church at home was one of identity of doctrine and worship and of subjection to the Law of the United Church of England and Ireland, so far as it is applicable to a Church not established by law; and that this relation might practically be best maintained by a system of Dio-

cesan and Provincial Synods, and by a common final Court of Appeal, and
by a Council of Reference".³³

A suggestion was made as to the best way to appoint bishops to dioceses in the Australian Province. "The election of the Bishop, having been made by the Church of the Diocese whatever mode of election the Diocesan Synod may have adopted, should be confirmed by the Bishops of the Province. The person so elected and confirmed should be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Metropolitan.....So long as it is practicable, Letters Patent assigning to the Bishop a territorial sphere of action should continue to be issued. The power of choosing a Bishop could be delegated to any Bishop or Bishops, or to such a body as the Standing Committee of Synod, or a permanent Committee specially appointed for that purpose, or the Cathedral Chapter. Or the Diocesan Synod might nominate two or more clergymen, of whom the Bishops of the Province should select one."³⁴ Conclusions were also arrived at concerning the Constitution of a General Synod and its functions; the Constitution and Functions of a Tribunal of the General Synod and of a Council of Reference; a Tribunal for the Trial of a Bishop; an Oath of Canonical Obedience; and the Resignation of Cures by clergymen. With respect to the trial of a Bishop, it was suggested that the General Synod should constitute a Tribunal for the trial of such charges, and should make regulations for the procedure thereof. The Oath of Canonical obedience at episcopal consecration should

33. Minutes of the Conference of the Bishops at Sydney, November-December 1868. (Sydney, 1869.)

34. *ibid.*

be taken to the Bishop of Sydney as Metropolitan. Copies of the Minutes were sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the other Archbishops and Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland at home and in the Colonies.

35
Speaking to the 1869 Tasmanian Synod on the proposed General Synod, Bromby said that when the Australian dioceses became independent dioceses, and ceased to be portions of the English Church, there should be as many Provincial Synods as there were political States, and each would then control the decisions of the several dioceses into which it was divided by its own innate authority. But, as it was, the power sought for the General Synod, or voluntary convention, consisted in simply interpreting the law of the Church of England and declaring how far any diocesan regulation was, or was not, in harmony with its discipline or doctrine. Its functions were to be explanatory and declaratory, rather than legislative. As long as the Australian dioceses were integrally and functionally one with the Church of England there existed already a sufficient controlling power. But when separation occurred then, according to the analogy of the Primitive Church, provinces would be marked out by political boundaries. There would thus be the Province of Victoria, of Tasmania (if it were divided into dioceses), and so on. The General Synod would be for all dioceses in Australia and Tasmania. Bromby's consent to the recommendation of a voluntary spiritual tribunal in England, to which questions of doctrine should be referred, was given on the assumption that the jurisdiction of the Privy

Council should be declared to be no longer accessible to the Colonial Church. Even then, every decision of such voluntary tribunal was to cease to be binding upon the Colonies if it came into conflict with the law of the Church.

Bearing the 1860 Convocation of Canterbury and the 1867 Pan-Anglican Conference in mind, the Metropolitan Archbishop of Sydney was to invite the Australian dioceses to send their delegates to consult with all the bishops to frame a Constitution for the General Synod, setting out its authority and powers. Then, as a Synod, it was to proceed to business. One of the most important reasons for calling the meeting was to work towards securing unity of doctrine and discipline between the dioceses of the Colonies. The functions of the General Synod were: (1) to constitute a Metropolitan Court of Appeal; (2) to frame general rules for the formation of new dioceses and provinces; (3) to make rules for the confirmation and due consecration of newly elected bishops; (4) to communicate with the authorities of the Church in England and in the various Colonies, on all matters relating to the general well-being of the Church; (5) to consult on any matters which may be brought before the Synod affecting the well-being of the Church in the Province, and to frame regulations thereon, "such regulations to take effect in the several Dioceses, from and after the Session of each Diocesan Synod, to which they have been communicated, provided that they be not, and so far only as they are not, disallowed by either the clergy or the Lay representatives of the Diocesan Synod in such Session". The General Synod was also to take measures for promoting inter-communion between the Church in the

36. *ibid.*

37. Minutes of the Conference of the Bishops at Sydney, November-December 1868. (Sydney, 1869.)

Province and other Reformed Episcopal Churches. The meeting was held four years later, in October 1872, in Sydney. Ten bishops, five deans, four archdeacons, and thirty clergymen and laymen from the Australian dioceses met in conference to draw up the Constitution for a General Synod, and to proceed to business. The constitution had to be referred to the various Diocesan Synods for ratification before it became legally operative. At the same time the newly formed Synod passed three Determinations, as the Resolutions of General Synod are called: (1) rules for confirmation and consecration of bishops and the election of primates; (2) a constitution for an Appellate Tribunal; (3) a Board of Missions and its Executive. These Determinations were referred to the dioceses for adoption. The younger Bromby, in writing to his sister Gertrude, said:

"I fear that our Bishop is rather out of heart with the Conference. They have decided not to give the General Synod any real power over the Diocesan Synods until such Diocesan Synods shall be pleased to accept the decrees of the General Synod. For my part, although I believe this to be a wrong principle, I do not feel so strongly on the point as the Bishop does. He declares he will not attend another General Synod till the proper powers are claimed by it."³⁸

The three Determinations were approved by the Tasmanian Synod April 1873. The "1872 Constitution" was ratified by the General Synod on 3 October 1876. The General Synod had practically no legislative authority. The General Synod functioned as a recommendatory body whose Determinations

38. J.H.B. Mace, op cit, p 64.

could become law only through adoption by a Diocesan Synod. "Once again the seeds of diocesanism, sown by Bishop Barker and his Sydney committee of 1865 brought forth the fruits of legislative frustration. But despite this imperfection, serious as it was, an instrument for the order and good government of the whole Church in Australia had been organised; and with it the Australian Church was born." ³⁹ For this Bromby expressed his gratitude. "Let us thank God for the result," he wrote. "Until the General Synod shall have had time to propound its canons for the future discipline of the Australian Church, let us exercise all Christian forbearance. Let us allow to each other the same liberty in disputed points which we claim for ourselves."

An immediate outcome of the General Synod's Determinations in Tasmania was the passing by the 1873 Tasmanian Synod of a Resolution relating to vacancy in the See. An elected Board, consisting of six clergy and six laymen, were to select three clergymen, of Tasmania or elsewhere, and place the names before Synod, Synod would vote, clergy and laymen voting separately, and a person elected by an absolute majority would be the new Bishop. If, after six ballots, an election was not made, three more names were to be submitted, and so on. The first Determination of the General Synod would then operate.

By deliberation, advice and action Bromby did great work for the Synods of Australia. He thereby greatly strengthened ties of loyalty between the Australian Colonial Churches and the Church at home. Bromby

39. R. Border, op cit, p 272.

was indeed more far-sighted than most of the other Australian bishops of the time. Perhaps he was also more impetuous and outspoken. But it is remarkable that many of the plans he propounded and which were not immediately adopted in their entirety were later implemented. Some of the terms might have changed; but the essence remained.

Finance: Church-State Relations, and State-Aid Commutation

Bishop Nixon was unsuccessful when he pressed the claims of the Church of England as an "established" Church in Tasmania. At the same time, he was unable to prevent Government intervention in Church affairs, particularly in the appointment of clergy. Many of the clergy had been appointed as convict chaplains by the Imperial Government and had been paid by the Government to work as religious instructors. With the coming of self-government to Tasmania these early arrangements stood. The Church was not strongly enough endowed to enable it to take over the full financial burden. Unless some new arrangements could be made whereby the Government gave financial assistance yet refrained from interference, the future of the Tasmanian Church seemed bleak. On the one hand, Bromby wanted financial aid from the Government; on the other hand, he wanted a Church unfettered by Government Control.

We have studied how the 1837 "Church Act" made provisions for the Church. We have noted, too, the difficulties which were caused by the growth and the demands of other religious bodies. The Colony at large accepted the 1862 State-Aid Re-Distribution as settlement of a question which

had caused much agitation. The Imperial Act to which Tasmania owed its Constitution, reserved for Public Worship £15,000 from general revenue. In 1861, a scheme, to settle the whole question of State-Aid once and for all by making a straight-out grant of £50,000 to the Tasmanian churches, received insufficient support in the Tasmanian Parliament. So the 1862 Act claimed that the amount of £15,000 would continue undiminished, though liable to readjustment from time to time. The reserve was distributed to give each religious body its due share, calculated according to its numbers. However, some communities named in the census as Independents, Baptists and "other sects" declined to receive any share of the funds distributed. They pleaded "religious motives". Those who declined numbered ⁴⁰ six thousand. The groups nominally willing to participate in the distribution numbered nearly the whole of the population. Therefore, the reserve seemed to be distributed in a manner least open to objection. However, the non-recipients believed they had a grievance: that they were paying indirectly for the sustenance of denominations they could not approve. The alleged injustice could hardly be remedied. Some inhabitants were anti-religious or non-religious; they advocated a complete repudiation of the Reserve for Public Worship. ⁴¹ But the Government could not adopt, consistently with good faith and sound policy, any scheme to abolish State-Aid to religion. Other reasons were advanced for the repeal of the 1862 Act. The whole question involved sacred interests unfitted for parliamentary de-

40. C.N., August 1868.

41. B.C., Reibey/Davies, 12 September 1862.

bate. The Church and even Religion itself would be endangered if such matters were brought within the sphere of party conflict. A legislative measure which aimed to remove the subject from the field of political strife would be generally welcome.

The Government was facing increasing difficulties due to growing denominational divisions. Yet the Government was unwilling to adopt the idea of an "established church". The Church, on the other hand, while maintaining that the State had a clear and distinct duty towards Religion, sought release from any State interference in its internal, domestic affairs. Appointments, dismissals, leave of absence and stipends the Church placed in these categories. Bromby wanted for the Church of England what he called "an honourable release from actual or possible State parliamentary control". Several new facts confirmed the desire: the whole position of the Colonial Church was coming under consideration by the Imperial Government as a result of judgment in the Colenso cases; Roman Catholics in Tasmania were increasing in number and power; the Church's own synodical form of self-government was proving more and more effective. In 1867, a State-Aid Commutation Bill came before Parliament, but was rejected, mainly because of objections raised by Roman Catholic clergy.⁴² However, there was no great outcry for or against such a bill in 1868.⁴³ The Government decided to try again. Bromby had correspondence with members when the new bill was being framed.⁴⁴ Largely due to his influence, tact and skill, a

42. Cornwall Chronicle, 19 August 1868.

43. *ibid.*

44. Bp's L.B., August 1868.

Bill to Commute the Reserve for Public Worship was re-introduced by Chapman into the Legislature in 1868. Members expected the Bill to be passed, but not without opposition from Roman Catholic members. A blank had been left in the draft of the Bill and, at the last minute, was filled up by the insertion of £100,000. The annual sum of £15,000 was to be commuted. Straight-out payment was to be made in debentures secured on the public revenues and redeemable in 1900. A clause was introduced to deal more equitably with Roman Catholics, than by the principle of population as shown by the latest census. From and after 1 July 1869, it was proposed to pay annually to the governing authority of the Church of Rome the sum of £1,200; to the governing body of the Wesleyan Church the sum of £600; to the Church of Scotland, £200, "provided that such sums shall abate in the same proportion as the amount payable to the ministers of the Church of England under the State-Aid Redistribution Act from time to time abates, by reason of the death, resignation or retirement of any of the ministers named in the Schedule of the Act." Pension rights up to £200 were to be reserved to the colonial clergy whose stipends were payable by the Crown under the Schedule of the State-Aid Re-Distribution Act. Nothing in the Act was to affect the rights of any person named in the said Schedule. The capital sum was to be distributed as follows:

Church of England.....	£58,466:13: 4.
Church of Rome.....	£23,106:13: 4.
Church of Scotland.....	£ 7,866:13: 4.
Wesleyan.....	£ 7,333: 6: 8.
Free Church of Scotland...	£ 2,806:13: 4.
Jewish Church.....	£ 420: 0: 0.

Moreover, Act 1 Victoria No 16 was to be repealed so far as it related to

the Church of England. Church property was to be vested in the Trustees of the Church of England.

On the State-Aid Re-Distribution Act Schedule there were listed thirty Church of England clergymen, ten of the Church of Scotland, and four of the Church of Rome. By 1868, the Schedule contained twenty Church of England clergymen, seven of the Church of Scotland, and two of the Church of Rome. At the same time, there were five Church of England Clerical pensioners drawing £1,205: 0: 6, three pensioners of the Church of Scotland drawing £295: 0: 1, and one pensioner of the Church of Rome drawing
45
£32: 0: 0.

For the Church of England, the effect of the new Act would be to place at Synod's disposal debentures producing interest amounting to £3,500 a year, instead of a yearly amount of £8,971. This latter sum includes the vote of £200, to be discontinued, for the ministrations in prisons and pauper establishments. To start, the diminished income would sustain the charges upon it just as well as the larger one. The sum of £5,620, payable to the twenty colonial chaplains whose incomes were secured under the former Act, amounted, with the interest on the debentures, to £150 more than the Church would receive from public funds under the proposed new arrangements. But the imminent retirement or death of those clergymen would give the Cures so vacated a claim to a share in the income assigned by the proposed 1868 State-Aid Commutation Act. The regulations of Synod, and the practice throughout the diocese, were based on the supposition that

a sum of £8,971 was available for the supply of incomes to the Clergy. In addition, a supplement could be expected from private sources and from Cures not served by clergymen receiving pay under the Church Acts. The maximums of the parochial contribution was £150 in the Northern Archdeaconry and £125 in the Southern.

46

Numerous petitioners objected to the proposed Act. They were mainly members of Dissenting groups. Bromby had been told that some steps had been taken to induce the Queen to withhold her consent from the bill which had already passed both branches of the Tasmanian Legislature. On 29 September 1868, Bromby sent to England a strong petition in favour of the bill from the clergy and lay representatives of the Tasmanian Church Synod. ⁴⁷ Although Bromby realised that the Church of England would be eventually the losers by the measure to the extent of about three-fifths of the sum secured to it by an Imperial Act of Parliament, he regarded the proposed measure as expedient, and was reconciled to the change. "The Church of England, as shown by the last census, represents more than half of the Colony," wrote Bromby.

The 1869 Tasmanian Synod was planned for the week after Easter week. This was later than usual. It was hoped that more time would thus be allowed for the Royal Assent to be given to the Bill. Bromby wanted Synod to legislate on the assumption of the proposed Act being the law of the Colony. He asked the Finance Committees to prepare suggestions

46. Cornwall Chronicle, 5 September 1868.

47. Bp's L.B., Bromby/ Duke of Buckingham, 29 September 1868.

for Synod in regard to the Church's position arising from the Bill becoming law. He himself regarded the sum to be placed at Synod's disposal as "trust money for all ages". He wanted some of it apportioned for endowment of existing Cures, requiring such Cures to meet contributions of like sums. Two plans, identical in principle, occurred to Bromby.⁴⁸ First, supposing forty parishes claimed endowments, Synod might grant £50 a year for each of ten years. The forty parishes themselves would contribute like sums. Bromby hoped that, on renewed application, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, would make a grant of one quarter of the whole amount. Thus "about £5,000 could be annually devoted to this most important necessity". This, continued for ten years, would secure endowments to the "present value of £50,000". As population increased, and with it special necessities, so would the value of land increase, in which the endowments should, if possible, be invested. Second, instead of spreading endowment grants over ten years, of £50 each year, Synod might offer in turn to the Cure the whole £500 at once, on the same conditions already mentioned. Co-ordinately with that step, the zeal of the Church would have to be aroused. Therefore, Synod should set in motion a system of Parochial Associations. Further, it should publish their reports, with a list every year of the contributors. Thus "bona fide Churchmen would be known by all. They would be proved by their support of the Church's work". Rev. A. Dav-⁴⁹enport had suggested that Synod should reduce the number of Cures. "It

48. *ibid*; Bromby/Reibey, 9 January 1869.

49. C.N., November 1868.

may be that such reduction is impossible," he said, "but let it be attempted, if in any case it is practicable." New parishes had opened up all over the diocese. If this practice continued, many districts would be too poor to maintain a ministry. Bromby suggested, on the other hand, that the work could be strengthened by a union of parishes, served by a Rector and an assistant curate of "less experience and smaller pecuniary expectations".⁵⁰

When Bromby presented his Address to Synod in April 1869, the Bill had become law. Bromby asked Synod to take immediate measures to meet the altered circumstances of the Church's finances. He mentioned the two schemes he had already placed before the Finance Committees. Further, he maintained that Synod could now constitute itself a building society, competent to lend money upon interest for the completion of churches and parsonages, sufficient security being found for the payment of interest and gradual repayment of capital. Bromby urged again the need to build up endowments. "Depressed times," he said, "are times for the cutting off of luxuries, not for the curtailment of our charities." The real obstacle which could stay the church's work was seldom poverty, but rather a low state of spirituality in its members. For this reason, Bromby urged both clergy and people to greater efforts, greater sacrifices.

Dr. W. Valentine, of Campbell Town, moved a resolution in Synod asking members to declare that they could not with a clear conscience "as before God" participate in the provisions of the State-Aid Commutation Act.

50. W. R. Barrett, op cit, p 22.

Valentine objected on biblical and doctrinal grounds. "The question was put and negatived". On the contrary, the 1869 Synod resolved to ask the Government to issue the debentures allotted to the Church of England in Commutation of State-Aid in the name of the Trustees of the Synod (resolution 1). Also, after the authorised payments by Synod, interest accruing from the debentures was to be paid equally to the General Church Fund in the Northern and Southern Archdeaconries (Resolution 10). Synod recommended to every Cure and "especially those served by clergymen under the State-Aid Re-Distribution Act" that they endeavour to secure a perpetual income of at least £100 a year for the Incumbent of the Cure. Synod would pay an equal sum, using debentures assigned by the State-Aid Commutation Act.

Bromby did not immediately gain the degree of autonomy in Church matters he wanted. There were occasional skirmishes involving Church and Government over the claims of the Scheduled Clergy. In 1871, in the case of B. Ball of Broadmarsh, the Attorney-General ruled that, under the Distribution Act, the Governor must still regard Scheduled Chaplains as civil servants. They should gain leave of absence from the Governor in Council as well as from the "proper authorities of the Church". Bromby argued that the Distribution Act and the State-Aid Commutation Act intended to free the Churches from all State control and to leave them to administer their own internal affairs.⁵¹ To avoid the evils of litigation, Bromby was ready to submit to the Attorney-General's ruling. He would refer applications for leave of absence to the Governor in Council. But he hoped

51. Bp's L.B., Bromby/ H. Dobson, 21 July 1871.

the Government would not interfere in any practical way with his own prerogative as Bishop. His hopes were realised. As Scheduled Chaplains retired or died, the Church of England became increasingly free of State control. Bromby's wisdom and charity had won a victory for the Church. The victory was won through sacrifice -- which was appropriate.

Finance: Problems and Attempted Solutions

Bromby's pre-eminent concerns were financial. From the beginning of his episcopate, he realised that unless some effective scheme for the payment of clergy stipends and pensions and for parochial maintenance could be devised, his episcopate would be ineffective. No other plans would matter. He sought, as we have seen, freedom from State control and a definite government grant upon which to build the diocese of the future. He also sought parochial and diocesan security through a closely knit financial arrangement involving both parochial and diocesan commitment in a forward movement of faith. He achieved this to an unexpected degree. He saw it as supplementary to the Government's financial aid. He worked for it both before and after State-Aid Commutation, which he quite early envisaged. In the beginning, Bromby had at his disposal a loosely knit group of parishes, two rival archdeaconries, a Synod whose members and interests alternated between North and South wherever the Synod was sitting, a diocesan grant under the 1862 State-Aid Re-Distribution Act, a divided General Church Fund supported irregularly by some of the parishes, and two Finance Committees - one for each Archdeaconry - which helped to administer the funds and

pay clergy stipends. There were also limited endowments and a legacy of government interference. However, at this time, there was little of the opposition to episcopal direction with which Nixon had to contend. There was a Synod, and the diocese was still lulled by Davies' "touch of harmony and peace".

Bromby tried to use the "machinery" already available rather than substitute innovations. In 1865, he threw in his weight with the Southern Finance Committee which tried to encourage a permanent rather than a hand-to-mouth provision for clergymen in charge of separate Cures. He sought to encourage parochial enterprise. Wherever a parish was provided with even a moderate endowment or a Parsonage House, Bromby urged that Synod should give additional substance to the security thus offered by voting a fixed annual sum out of the funds provided by the state. Other Cures, possessing no such local advantage, or until they possessed it, would be left to the maintenance, however precarious, of the General Church Fund, but with one clear gain: that the Fund would be relieved from all claim upon it on the part of the endowed clergy. Moreover, he supported regulations introduced into Synod by W. L. Dobson, the Church Advocate, for the proper care of Parsonages already existing and for the more effective leasing and management of Church Lands at both diocesan and parochial levels.

Clearly, the parishes had first to help themselves if they were eventually to help each other. The diocese had only State grants for Scheduled Clergy (known as Chaplains), and a limited amount for distribution through the Finance Committees to clergy in other Cures. In addition, there

were some endowments, the Ripon Fund which depended upon rents from its investments in land, and the General Church Fund supported by contributions from the diocese generally. Consequent upon Bromby's support of the Southern Finance Committee's proposals at the 1865 Synod, very important and far-reaching decisions were made regarding the administration of the State-Aid Funds. When a vacancy occurred, involving a sum of £250 for stipend and a Parsonage House, the new incumbent would not receive the whole sum, as under the old method of administering the State funds. Rather, he would get £150 on condition that another £100 would be raised from local sources, endowments or contributions. The income would be the same, but only three-fifths of it would come from the public treasury. Of the remaining £100, Synod would reserve £25 for a Parsonage Building Fund for the benefit of the parishes which were able to make no such provision for their clergy. Synod would pay the balance of £75 equally to the Finance Committees of the two Archdeaconries to enable them to aid the non-endowed and the missionary Cures. Synod and Bishop both hoped that the Finance Committees, in administering the funds, would use them as a stimulus to voluntary offerings. Provided always that there was a general co-operation from parishes in both north and south, Bromby saw definite advantages in the new financial arrangements. He hoped to overcome difficulties of the type referred by H. P. Kane, Secretary of the Northern Finance Committee, to Archdeacon Davies, and then by Davies to Bromby. First, Rev. J. Chambers of Cullenswood had appealed to the Northern Finance Committee for support. The Cullenswood parishioners had guaranteed his stipend for two years, and

the two years had now expired. Could Chambers call on the Northern General Church Fund? The ruling was: only if the parishioners had paid in their contribution to the Fund of at least one half of his stipend. But this they had not done. What could be done then to provide Chambers with a livelihood? The answer clearly was: nothing. Second, Evandale in a similar position had paid some money into the General Church Fund and had guaranteed the remainder. But the depressed times made the Northern Committee wary of taking a further possible liability. If it made an exception for Evandale, why not for Cullenswood? No help could be given to Evandale. Third, Campbell Town was seeking assistance to pay a minister. But a guarantee from the Committee could have no legal value. The Finance Committee could act only if Campbell Town contributed to the General Church Fund. So Campbell Town could not be helped. The difficulty here was resolved by a timely £1,000 church endowment. Fourth, Sorell sought help. But it had no endowments and could make no contributions. The Finance Committee had no discretion nor power to help.⁵² Bromby's new scheme could and did help the diocesan need. For its full effectiveness, however, it depended upon the genuine co-operation of all parishes, and increased contributions from both the endowed and unendowed. It was not easy for Bromby to encourage parishes to look beyond the parochial to the diocesan frontier. He hoped to pave the way by working first at the known parish level. He outlined a scheme of Parochial Associations. He advocated their cause both in Launceston and Hobart. Synod granted permission for them to be

52. B.C., Kane/Davies, 16 June 1864.

established in Tasmania on 31 March 1865. The object of the Associations was "to unite more thoroughly the members of the Church of England in the Parish as one body, to produce an increased interest in the well-being of the Church and to raise a fund for its support by voluntary subscriptions and donations"⁵³. The Associations were to be superintended by the Finance Committee of the Archdeaconry, together with the clergyman and Synod representative of every parish where a Parochial Association was established. The name of the Bishop was to be added, as the President. As Bromby was still seeking to implement this scheme when speaking in 1869 of the effects of the State-Aid Commutation Act, it may be assumed that the scheme did not meet with a ready response. There has rarely been a ready response to episcopal or government schemes planned for diocesan good, throughout the history of the Church of England in Tasmania. This was particularly the case in the first two episcopates. Efforts to capture visions were frustrated by suspicion and apathy.

Bromby was surprised that no annual statistical returns from the parishes was available. To make his planning easier and the plans for the future more specific he insisted, through Synod, upon a precise diocesan statistical picture. Diocesan figures for 1865⁵⁴ were:

Acres of land owned by the Church	2,012.
Rental from the Lands	£856: 4: 0.
Churches and Chapels	95.
Seating accommodation therein	15,304.
Pew rents therefrom	£1,511: 3: 6.
Offertories	£2,603:19: 7.

53. D.S.T., 1865.

54. D.S.T., 1866.

Other collections	£1,548:11: 0.
Parsonage houses available for clergy .	17.
Amount to be found for clergy stipends.	£13,336:17:8.

Communicants	2,232.
Persons confirmed	1,003.
Baptisms	1,467.
Sunday School children	3,376.
Sunday School Teachers or Church Visi- tors	412.
Adults in Bible Classes	256.
Marriages celebrated	220.
Burials	698.
Cures	42.

(Archdeaconry of Hobart: 23;
Archdeaconry of Launceston: 19.)

Upon reading this first return, Bromby found one cause of languishing enthusiasm for ventures in finance. The Diocesan Registrar had been fleecing the laity by charging an exorbitant fee for marriage licences. The fee went into the Registrar's own pocket. Not only did laymen refuse to pay; many left the Church and went to Dissenting groups. The laymen complained of the Registrar's dishonest practices. The Registrar would not relent. The Registrar was John Harrison, who had been appointed on 11 October 1838 and had become a law unto himself. Bromby sought Harrison's co-operation to lower the fees and reclaim members. Harrison refused to co-operate. Bromby's official contact with his Registrar was reduced to one of communication by letter, and the letters were short and curt. Harrison continued to claim as his right £5: 5: 0. for each marriage licence he issued. In 1851, the number of marriages registered was 675. By 1865, the number had fallen to 220, 103 by banns and 117 by licence. On 20 December 1865, a letter was published in the Church News complaining that "half of our professed members go and get a cheaper marriage elsewhere, and

many stay in the churches of their marriage". Bromby queried what Harrison called his "Letters Patent". He sought advice from the Church Advocate. He consulted the Bishop of Sydney, as Metropolitan, about his right to dismiss Harrison and reduce the licence charges. The matter ^{reference} was placed before Synod on several occasions. But apparently nothing could be done. Hundreds of people were lost to the Church. It was difficult to encourage contributions to the Church on a diocesan basis when a Church authority declined to surrender an ill-gained perquisite. It was not until ten years later, when Harrison died and Bromby's son was appointed Acting Registrar, that the licence fee was reduced to £1.10. 0.

Despite opposition at strategic points, Bromby continued his policy of seeking through the existing "machinery" diocesan unity and consolidation. In 1866, he saw the existing inequality of stipend and financial insecurity amongst the clergy and in the diocese as fatal to diocesan development. A large portion of the State-Aid grant was monopolised by certain parishes, or rather by the chaplains in charge of them. These parishes, despite their security, did little to assist diocesan funds. As a rule these parishes failed to show sufficient zeal on behalf of the Church generally, corresponding with their own immunity. Bromby had hoped for ready co-operation, but it had not been forthcoming. The Churchmen's outlook in Tasmania was parochial rather than diocesan. Apathy towards the diocese was general. Secure parishes were indifferent towards the welfare of others, or, being dissatisfied with their own pastors and the ministrations provided for them, they felt no interest in the spread of the Church's influence. Bromby pleaded once more for support for Parochial Associations

working through established institutions. Perhaps a Standing Committee in Hobart could encourage the Associations by arranging collecting-cards for parishes and visits to parishes by Archdeacons, the Synod Secretary, the Bishop's Chaplain or the Bishop. Bromby was zealous to solve the diocesan financial problems. But he was frustrated by the churchmen themselves who pleaded inability to assist the diocese "through the depression of the times". They wanted first the goods, in clergy and facilities, before endeavouring to pay for them. Generally, the Tasmanian Clergy and Laymen were more uncertain than Bromby of the efficacy of faith.

Next, Bromby suggested applied obligation. He asked the 1866 Synod to regulate that all "surplice fees", not strictly personal, should be paid by the Clergy into Synod. The "Easter offerings" he regarded as personal and so the property of the Incumbent or Curate. But the clergy should render an account to Synod of the appropriation of the general offertory. The diocese could then make suggestions for better appropriation. Even to this the clergy objected. But Bromby saw clearly that the failure of the existing system of distributing the Church funds consisted in that Cures less able to support their own ministers received the least aid. Chaplains were usually at well established points. Bromby declaimed that the ideal to be aimed at was that towns and well-circumstanced rural districts should place their clergymen beyond the necessity of drawing upon a fund which should, both for reasons of policy and duty, be devoted as far as possible to strictly missionary wants. "Missionary" was used of incipient, outlying or struggling parishes. Resolutions had been made

in the 1865 Synod in respect of such missionary Cures. But they were working ill. "In effect," said Bromby, "like the poor, invited to but excluded from our high-pewed churches, where seats are bought for money but standing room not left for poverty, this portion of the inhabitants is excluded from all share of the Church's funds."⁵⁵ Complaints that the Church's general funds had been exhausted by richer parishes had been received by Bromby from the North Coast, the Channel and Colebrook Dale. Churchmen in rural districts complained that although they had contributed to the Public Treasury, from which the Public Grant in Aid proceeded, they received little help from the Finance Committees which administered the grant. Members of the Finance Committees represented too exclusively the interests of parishes which stood least in need of any extraneous aid.

To meet the growing need for ministrations, Bromby suggested an experiment. He would implement a new scheme for using clergy. He would base the experiment on St David's Cathedral and hope that later on it would be tried out elsewhere.⁵⁶ Bromby proposed associating with the Cathedral or Mother Church a certain number of either younger clergy or Standing Deacons. Deacons would have salaries starting at £120 and increasing each year by £10 up to £150. Priests would start at £150 and advance at the same rate till the stipend reached the maximum fixed by the Regulations of Synod. The plan was tried in 1866. On one Sunday, Cathedral clergy had been able to conduct seven services along the Derwent from Bridgewater in

55. C.N., April 1866.

56. Mercury, 10 April 1866.

Was the original plan?

the North to North-West Bay in the South. The Bishop hoped that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel would help him to extend the scheme. In this case, little call would have to be made on the Synod funds. The scheme was not immediately or generally implemented. But a precedent was available when Synod sought to combine parishes in the post State-Aid Commutation years.

Bromby realised that much of the indifference of parishes towards his dream of "one diocesan family" was probably due to ignorance of conditions in the distant and scattered parts of Tasmania. He therefore travelled extensively, collated material, and spread the news through Synod. For five months before the 1866 Synod Bromby travelled widely. He had visited the entire North Coast except Circular Head, the East Coast except Falmouth, and D'Entrecasteaux Channel except Recherche Bay. Within six months, he had increased the number of clergymen on the North Coast, from Circular Head to the banks of the Tamar, from one to three. He tried to work them as a team. Also, Colebrook Dale churchmen met Bromby with the view of combining with Jericho for the permanent support of a clergyman; they promised to raise their quorum for the clergyman's support. Leading inhabitants of Long Bay and Three Hut Point had also proposed joining with Brunton and Port Esperance to try to support a clergyman. Bromby hoped in this last case, that Synod could supply funds to support a second clergyman. Again, early in 1867, Bromby, his chaplain and some of his family made an extensive trip to the Channel Settlements.⁵⁷ Bromby selected Long Bay as

57. Bp's L.B., 1867.

his base of operations. His diary makes frequent reference to "lay-deacons" whom he had appointed to read services and sermons. One whole day Bromby spent "teaching the schoolmaster who, though pronounced backward by the Inspector, has nevertheless some natural gifts, and I hope may be kept in his place, to the joy of the people who pity his shortcomings but value his character". Bromby travelled by foot, horse and boat. He baptised, confirmed and comforted. He found that both the Roman Catholics and the Wesleyans were putting to shame the lukewarmness of the Church of England. "There is no use concealing one fact," wrote Bromby, "that while we are concentrating our funds and energies upon our towns, the Roman Catholics are making rapid headway in these localities. The Wesleyans, always zealous and active, are presenting no sufficient bulwark, and the Church of England is paralysed." Bromby was told that at Taylor's Bay, in South Bruni, many children were not yet baptised and no clergyman except the Roman priest had been there for eight or ten years. Although Bromby was on the point of leaving for Hobart, he hired a boat and rowed to Taylor's Bay. Scouts were sent around to announce a service of baptism. Only one child was brought forward. The parents were reticent; many escaped into the bush. The Bishop was regarded as a different sort of policeman. When he approached, the parents fled. The explanation could be found partly in the past neglect by the Church of England which had led to practical heathenism, and partly to the energetic Roman Catholic Church, and the many Roman Catholic mothers. A cargo of Irish female emigrants was in fact a company of missionaries. The main result of Bromby's Channel visit was a conviction

that the Church of England had neglected its duty to the State. She should provide a clergyman at Long Bay or Three Hut Point to take charge of the coast from Oyster Cove to the Huon, and a Deacon-Curate under Franklin's minister to work Port Esperance, Port Cygnet, Southport and Recherche Bay. The State supplied funds for the help of those, who, though they contributed to the national wealth, were unable through scattered conditions to supply themselves with the ministrations of religion.

The publicity Bromby gave to the needs and conditions of scattered and new parishes, coupled with an appreciation of his own episcopal zeal in visiting and ministering to them, had its effect on parishes generally. Despite his earlier disappointments, 1867 brought for the Church and its Bishop both encouragement and hope. For the first time since it had been established, the General Church Fund kept every financial engagement with the clergy of the diocese, and there was a small surplus for new missionary areas. A combination of Bromby's enthusiasm, appeals and experiments was beginning to bear fruit. He was bringing the Church to a point where it could welcome independence from State-control. The district of the Mersey, the Don, the Forth and the Leven had been placed under the superintendence of an ordained man. The districts of the Leven and the Forth were raising funds to maintain a Deacon-Curate in place of a Catechist. Funds had already been raised to erect a church upon the banks of each of the two rivers. Ross, long vacant, had been filled by the appointment of Rev. M. B. Brownrigg, of Sydney. Without any financial difficulty, Rev. G. M. Wilson was appointed to Campbell Town and Rev.

H. J. Poole to Sorell. Jericho and Colebrook Dale had been united and Rev. H. Adams appointed to minister there. Two large Hobart parishes had appointed additional clergy, a Curate and a Lay-Deacon, with no call on diocesan funds. A system of Lay-Deacons or Readers, initiated by Bromby to overcome financial encumbrance, was working beneficially. Zealous laymen and a beautiful liturgy were holding congregations together where clergymen had not yet been sent, or where the district was too large for but one minister.

In his travels Bromby discovered that many contributions had been lost or given to other channels for want of being applied for. It was obvious that the machinery for making known the Church's wants and obtaining contributions to the General Church Fund was not as efficient as he had thought. It could be that the machinery rather than the appeals needed revision.

Again, Bromby wanted money for another urgent purpose: to assist aged and infirm clergymen to retire. Some clergymen were retaining their posts because they could not exist without a stipend; but they were no longer able to work efficiently. Bromby was receiving many complains, both about clergymen who should be retired and those who, through age and sickness, sought refuge from the winter's cold in northern dioceses; these latter still retained their stipends as scheduled clergy so that parishioners had to pay for substitutes. Rev. B. Ball of Broadmarsh had frequently wintered in northern dioceses, usually Grafton, doing work there for pay. At the same time, he claimed his Tasmanian stipend. Protrac-

ted correspondence had ensued between Bromby and Ball. Finally, Bromby referred the matter to Synod, who ruled that stipends were not to be paid to absentee clergymen; Government support in respect of scheduled clergymen who absented themselves should be gained. With reference to the aged and infirm clergymen, the 1868 Synod resolved that if any clergyman named in the Schedule of the State-Aid Re-Distribution Act retired on pension under the Superannuation Act, then Synod should make the pension up to £200 a year if it were less than that figure. Some of the aged clergy must retire. Soon after the 1868 Synod, Bromby was pleaded for Burrowes' and Hesketh's retirements. With regard to Burrowes, Bromby wrote:

"The parish is suffering injury from the infirmities under which our poor friend is labouring. I can compassionate with him in his great affliction, but it cannot be put in competition with the possible injury to peoples' souls".⁵⁸

And for Hesketh,

"Can you help poor Mr. Hesketh by filling up a form of application for a pension? He is quite incapable. You may know some of the particulars. If not, be good enough to forward it to Mrs. Hesketh, with any directions which may serve to guide her".⁵⁹

The old era was beginning to pass. The remaining Colonial Chaplains were beginning to retire on pensions granted by the Government under the Superannuation Act. If inadequate, they were supplemented by Synod. The State-Aid Commutation Act was to ensure a pension of at least £200 for Scheduled clergy. As no provision had been made for widows and orphans,

58. ibid, Bromby/Chalmers, Brighton, 17 March 1868.

59. ibid, Bromby/Davis, 9 April 1868.

Bromby had a Commission of Synod report and act. As early as 1847, a fund had been started, but the scheme had languished. The diocese was too small to enable capital to be built up strong enough to meet likely claims. But the adjourned (August) session of the 1865 Synod substituted for the old scheme a plan to assist clergy to insure their lives. This scheme was enhanced and became operative in the following years. Rev. W. R. Bennett of O'Brien's Bridge died on 30 April 1865. His death gave point to the Bishop's new measure. Bennett had been a Religious Instructor and Chaplain to Convicts in Tasmania since 1844. The new measures of life insurance gave clergymen's families a moiety of security. James Norman and William Browne are examples of the type of clergyman retiring on pensions. Davies' resignation, October 1866, was followed by that of Norman in 1867 and Browne in 1868. Bromby called Norman "that aged servant of the Lord". Norman had arrived in Tasmania in 1827 to succeed James Youl at St John's, Launceston, which had been opened for service 16 December 1825. He had been recommended from Sydney by Thomas Hobbes Scott, Archdeacon of New South Wales, to serve at St John's, Launceston, until W. H. Browne arrived. From Launceston, Norman and his wife had gone to take charge of the Female Orphan School at Hobart, and from there went to Pittwater. Browne had come from England, and had arrived in Tasmania in 1828. His appointment as Chaplain had been signed by George IV. He had been Incumbent of St John's, Launceston, for forty years. In the early days, his parochial area extended from Campbell Town to George Town, and from Longford to the East Coast. He had seen the wilds of Tasmania gradually yield to the ad-

vance of civilisation. The solitude of the bush had in some parts given place to flourishing towns and villages, roads and the beginnings of railways.

A new generation of clergymen was coming to serve Tasmania, appointed by the Bishop rather than by the Government, and paid in the ways indicated. Soon it was hoped that endowments built up by wise investments of grants and private contributions would safeguard both the payment of stipends and superannuation to clergymen appointed by Bishop or Patronage Council to the respective Cures. To enhance further the future of the Church and the new clergy who served in it, Resolution 13 of the 1870 Synod encouraged people to build churches and parsonages or to endow parishes to the extent of £1,000. The resolution asked the Council of Advice to consider allowing such benefactors to nominate incumbents to Cures thus benefited. Smaller benefactions would entitle donors to nominate members of the Patronage Council, under certain conditions.⁶⁰ That the Synod might be fully conversant with Funds raised for Church purposes, the 1871 Synod appointed a Select Committee to inquire into the Funds and to report fully on their appropriation. The terms of inquiry covered a large field: the Ripon Fund; all property with which the See of Tasmania was not then under the control of Synod; and the estates of Christ's College, the Hutchins School and the Launceston Church Grammar School. Funds from the State-Aid Commutation Act were being wisely invested, and Synod itself was becoming expert at handling investments in buildings and land.⁶¹ In 1868, after

60. D.S.T., 1870, p 13.

61. D.S.T., 1871, p 27.

he had completed an extensive diocesan visitation and had seen even more clearly the need to build up the General Church Fund in view of what he hoped would be early "disestablishment" of the Church, Bromby had written to Davies urging an "ably organised canvass of our parishes". He asked Davies to advocate the cause of the Fund from the pulpits. Davies should encourage the Clergy, especially Scheduled Clergy, to appoint collectors to "attract the laity in their homes". Davies' official position and his old connection with Tasmania would give him an influence others could not have, not even the Bishop. Bromby hoped that F. H. Cox⁶² or J. T. Gellibrand might take trips to places where Davies did not go. Bromby himself tried to increase donations wherever he had been. The 1872 Synod passed a resolution (No 16) empowering the Finance Committees to appoint one or more persons whose duty it would be to visit parishes within their respective archdeaconries and organise means for collecting money for Church purposes. Parishes were to be canvassed personally. The Finance Committees were to divide the Archdeaconries into visiting districts according to the number of people willing to act on such deputations. Necessary travelling expenses were to be paid.

Not all the problems connected with finance were solved by 1872. Perhaps Bromby had expected too much of some parishes, especially when he advocated Parochial Associations over and above existing machinery for the collection of monies for the General Church Fund. Bromby accepted the existing "machinery", but often tried to work it in his own preconceived

62. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Davies, 9 April 1868.

ways. Only when he saw the situation through the eyes of Tasmanians themselves, be they ever so scattered, did other Tasmanian churchmen lose suspicion, listen, and respond. As Bromby began to guide rather than force diocesan Synod, so did Synod respond by legislating as he would like. The Council of Advice, which Bromby sensibly deferred to, often conditioned Bromby's plans so that they could be received by Synod. Nevertheless, Bromby acted with unsuspected skill. Endowments, investments and Church funds generally were more settled in the seventies than when Nixon had left in 1862. This was due in no small way to Bromby's foresight, and to his earlier experience in organisation and with men. Bromby knew that it would be impossible to start his cathedral while finances were chaotic. He wanted the new cathedral as a diocesan example and mother church. He saw the cathedral as a monument to growing diocesan stability.

Churchmen and Church Institutions

Bromby faced a double task. He had to plan to consolidate the Church's finances; he had to develop and enlarge its constitutional position. Bromby wanted to enhance the Church's Tasmanian ministrations and to provide for their extension. However, a Bishop could only advise and direct. He was subject to Synod. The laws of Synod were not always the will of the Diocesan; nevertheless, the composition of Synod could often be conditioned by the will of the Diocesan. Bromby sought to encourage outstanding laymen to offer as Synod representatives; also he tried to establish a new generation of peculiarly minded clergymen. With the

Scheduled Chaplains quickly retiring from active ministry, a distinctive feature of Bromby's episcopate became his call to young men to enter the ministry. Bromby sought men of Australian as well as English experience and background. He quickly gathered around him a strong group of young clergy.

"I am particularly anxious not to introduce party-men into the diocese," he wrote, "but men of wide sympathies, intent on doing the Church's work in the Church's way. Zeal, earnestness and diligence I value more highly than petty differences upon abstract questions which unhappily divide the Church."⁶³

Again, in referring to M.B. Brownrigg's pending appointment to St John's, Launceston, in 1868, the Bishop wrote,

"If he is really a hard worker, a pastor, and not simply a good preacher or a party-man, he is the man we want".⁶⁴

Bromby sought to blend the clergymen he appointed with those of the Nixon episcopate, who often nursed partisanship. He was not always successful. The men Bromby appointed were often of limited doctrinal conviction. As dynamic personalities or ministers, they could rarely equal the giant pioneers of the Nixon era. Leading clergymen who remained from the Nixon episcopate were:

R. R. Davies (Archdeacon of Hobart)
F. H. Cox (of St John Baptist's Hobart, and then of St David's Cathedral)
A. Davenport (Holy Trinity, Hobart)
G. B. Smith (St George's, Battery Point, Hobart)
J. T. Gellibrand (South Arm and St John Baptist's, Hobart)
S. Parsons (All Saints', Hobart)
F. Hudspeth (St. David's and St John's, New Town)

63. Bp's L.B., Bromby/ H. Edwards, 9 December 1872.

64. ibid, Bromby/ A. Stackhouse, 9 June 1868.

T. H. Reibey (Archdeacon of Launceston until 1870)
W. H. Browne (St John's Launceston, and Archdeacon of
Launceston 1870-1877)
F. Hales (Holy Trinity, Launceston, and Archdeacon of
Launceston 1877-1901)
A. Barkway (St Paul's Launceston)
J. M. Norman (Cressy)
E. P. Adams (Deloraine)
J. Fereday (George Town)
H. O. Irwin (Hagley)
A. Stackhouse (Longford)

The clergy were licensed by the Bishop. The general scheme under Nixon was to establish as far as possible the same relationship between Bishop and Rector as prevailed in England. This aim was continued by Bromby. Also, in 1859, an attempt had been made to establish as nearly as possible the English system of patronage. "Patronage was to be vested in the donors of an adequate and permanent endowment, whether the donors were the Crown, the Bishop, congregations or individual churchmen. The choice of an incumbent was not limited to priests within the diocese; the incumbent could be selected from any diocese provided that he was able to produce Letters Testimonial and Commendatory from his own bishop." Where there was no endowment, the diocese as a whole and the parish in particular each had a voice in the selection of the incumbent. A Patronage Board of seven or more Synod members was elected by each parish within fourteen days of the Synod list being received by the wardens. If the parish failed to elect such a board, the Synod could do so. In either case, the Board nominated a clergyman to the bishop. If a person were not nominated within three months, the appointment fell into the Bishop's hands. If an indivi-

65. R. Border, op cit, p 234 et seq.

dual partially endowed a parish, or built a church or parsonage, he could be a "benefactor", and such a benefactor had the right to nominate an additional member to the Patronage Board.

Bromby found that the regulations regarding patronage "were working ill". In many cases they were ignored completely. Uncertainty surrounded the boundaries of Cures and the patronage of Incumbents. A Select Committee reported to Synod in 1865. Synod passed regulations on 5 April 1865 concerning the boundaries of the following Hobart Cures:

St David's,	All Saints',
St George's,	Holy Trinity
St John Baptist's	

Bromby hoped for more order in parishes and more settled and inclusive ministrations. He wanted to extend the plan of delineation to northern and country areas. The Bishop tried to bring the forty-one Cures more definitely under the Patronage Regulations of 1859. He gave them a choice between the Bishop as their Patron and a Board of Patronage chosen from members of Synod. Bromby wished to know their choice by the adjourned, August, session of the 1865 Synod. The returns showed twenty-four Cures as wanting the Bishop as Patron, and thirteen as wanting a Board of Patronage. Four Chures: Carrick, Perth, Evandale and O'Brien's Bridge, sent in no returns. Those wanting a Board of Patronage were: St George's Hobart; St John Baptist's, Hobart; All Saints', Hobart; Holy Trinity, Launceston; Bothwell; Deloraine; Franklin; Hamilton; Longford; New Norfolk; Richmond; Rokeby; Ross. Some Cures, for example St John's, Launceston, changed their policy when it suited their purpose to do so; but, for the time being,

Bromby had an indication of desire and was able to plan accordingly. He hoped to advise clergy more fruitfully, and to distribute them more effectively. Bromby aimed to increase the number of clergy, encourage Australian ordinands, give his Diocese the benefit of a richly varied ministry. In the first eight years of his episcopate, he ordained or received into the diocese clergy of diverse backgrounds. He ordained his own son, Henry Bodley Bromby, into the priesthood on Trinity Sunday, 11 June 1865. A Cambridge graduate, the younger Bromby had been made deacon by the Bishop of Oxford. Coming to Tasmania as his father's chaplain, he was placed as assistant curate under Davies at St David's on 3 April 1865. R. Smith and H. Adams, both from Tasmania, were made deacons by Bromby 21 December 1865. They were Bromby's first two chosen ordinands. K. W. Kirkland, whom Bromby had brought out from England to fill the vacant Cure of Campbell Town, was ordained priest in St David's Cathedral on 11 February 1866. With him was re-ordained W. Brooke, who ten years earlier had been vice-Warden of Christ's College Hobart and was now Headmaster of the Launceston Church Grammar School. A. Wayn, appointed to Green Ponds at the end of 1864, had been ordained by W. Tyrrell Bishop of Newcastle; C. J. Martin, appointed to Torquay in 1866, had been ordained by Augustus Short, Bishop of Adelaide. W. F. Mitchell was made a deacon by Bromby in 1867 and appointed to the districts of Illawarra and Bishopsbourne. Also in 1867 H. J. Poole, an Oxford graduate and G. M. Wilson, of Cambridge, were made surrogates. M. B. Brownrigg, a trainee of Moore Theological College in Sydney, who had been ordained priest by the Bishop of Sydney in 1860,

came to Tasmania to fill the Ross vacancy. E. Symonds, of King's College, London, priested by the Bishop of Brisbane in 1864, was appointed by Bromby as Chaplain of the Channel and the Huon River in September 1867. Charles Joseph Brammall, a parishioner of St John Baptist's Church, Hobart, was made a deacon in his parish church 11 June 1867 and the same day, was appointed as Curate there. C. G. Brome, formerly layman and catechist, was made deacon in St John's Launceston on 1 November 1867, and appointed Chaplain of the Church of All Saints, River Forth. Others, whom Bromby called to the diocese were:

- L. C. Williams, Trinity College Cambridge, who came with New Zealand experience;
- C. P. Greene, a graduate of Melbourne, who, after English experience, had been ordained in Cuddesdon Parish Church by the Bishop of Oxford;
- J. Fletcher, B.D., of St Mary Hall Oxford, who was ordained in St Paul's Cathedral, London, and took M. B. Brownrigg's place at Ross, when Brownrigg succeeded W. H. Browne at St John's Launceston in 1868;
- W. H. Dunning, who was ordained priest in Brisbane;
- R. Hayward, who was made a deacon in Melbourne in 1860 and ordained priest by Bromby in Hobart in 1870;
- F.T.H. Ashhurst, of County Durham;
- G. W. Shoobridge, who was made a deacon by Bromby in St David's Cathedral in 1871 and ordained priest in 1872;
- F. B. Sharland, a Cambridge graduate who was made deacon in 1870 by the Bishop of London at the request of Bromby, and was later ordained priest by Bromby at St David's Cathedral, Hobart;
- C. H. Cope, of Lincoln College, Oxford;
- H. D. Atkinson, of Trinity College, Dublin;
- J.B.H. Bailey, of Ceylon;
- J. Clampett;
- J. Nethercott, who was made deacon by Bromby in Hobart 21 December 1872.⁶⁶

Thus, although Bromby was encouraging an indigenous Australian clergy, and was the first Tasmanian bishop to appoint graduates of an Australian University and an Australian Theological College, he did not hesitate to

appoint suitable men of colonial experience, or missionary-minded men in England. Bromby demanded satisfactory academic standards from his Tasmanian ordinands. He refused to lower standards to increase the number of priests.⁶⁷ Most men, who were admitted from other dioceses, had University degrees. Bromby demanded that his Tasmanian ordinands should read extensively under the direction of senior clergy. Subjects for the 1867 Deacons' Examination were: The Old Testament, especially the Book of Isaiah; St John's Gospel; The Acts of the Apostles; the Epistle to the Romans; the Book of Common Prayer; the Articles of Religion, especially 4, 9, 11, 18, 27, 28.; Reformation History; Directorium Pastorale. Yet Bromby appreciated the need for men with a keen knowledge of and interest in Tasmanian conditions.

The case of R. Smith shows how one Tasmanian layman entered the local ministry a hundred years ago. Smith was one of Reibey's proteges. Reibey made him a Catechist in 1862, to the great delight of Archdeacon Davies.⁶⁸ "He is certainly not one of the most gifted of men," wrote Reibey, "but I believe him to be both earnest and good." Davies agreed that Smith should work in the Table Cape-Emu Bay district. Reibey sent him there at once "to prevent the field of labour being entirely taken out of our hands by the Dissenters and Roman Catholics; and at the same time to heal many unfortunate differences which have existed even amongst our own people". Smith did good work. "After only a few weeks, some of the most

67. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Smales - October 1867;
Bromby/Memorialists of the Brickfields Establishment,-
November 1867.

68. B.C., Reibey/Davies, 26 June 1862.

discontented are already appeased, and have expressed their willingness to rally round the Church again." Seeing the success, a Dissenting Group invited Smith to accept a post with their own church at the Cape and Emu Bay. Reibey saw Smith's reply. Smith expressed his firm attachment to the Church of England and his desire not to leave her communion. "I wrote to him immediately," said Reibey, "and asked if he would accept work in the Church. I thought him too good a man to let slip." He was made a deacon after he had proved himself as a catechist. He studied under the direction of the Bishop and his Archdeacon and, upon passing the Bishop's examinations, was priested. However, men who could afford it went outside Tasmania for theological training.

When Bromby arrived in Tasmania, he found that the clergy already established in Tasmania were ministering in the more closely settled areas. Bromby was concerned that so many of the scattered inhabitants were without any ministry at all. His problem was how to serve these scattered areas when he knew that he had insufficient ordained men, or even catechists, to do the work, and little money to appoint more ministers. He suggested to the 1865 Synod a "revolutionary plan". He would use laymen wherever the closest clergy would accept them. Bromby pleaded the necessity of his licensing laymen to lead church services. The idea was not new. H. O. Irwin, of Hagley and Quamby, had introduced a motion which had resulted in a similar resolution in the 1860 Synod.⁶⁹ But the Church News repudiated Bromby's plan as unnecessary and unacceptable.⁷⁰ Instead it advocated two

69. D.S.T., 1860.

70. C.N., September 1865.

"mission priests" who would give a regular, if infrequent, ministry to the scattered settlers. They were to act with the consent and under the direction of the nearest incumbents. The idea had been suggested at a meeting of the Hobart Church Union. Bromby decided to try to combine both ideas. He would have both lay ministers and itinerant missionary priests. At a meeting at the Bishop's House in Davey Street, Hobart, and again in the vestry of St David's Cathedral, in September 1865, a "Lay Association" was formed by the Bishop. The following lay churchmen were enrolled: The Hon. R. Q. Kermode, Messrs. S. Westbrook, - Patterson, T. Westbrook, - Fryer and H. Dobson.⁷¹ The Bishop asked his son, H. B. Bromby, to be the provincial secretary. The Bishop and the Lay Association nursed the schemes to appoint lay ministers. Clergy generally supported the idea. In a letter, dated 30 June 1868, Bromby discussed the application of such a scheme for the people of Bruni Island.⁷² "Your difficulties," he wrote, "arise from the fact that your church has been built on the wrong side of the island. Barnes Bay is the best locality. Yes, I know of the excellent but somewhat eccentric lady who has lived among and taught the scattered children. I am told she conducts Sunday School and reads our Church Service. She has even obtained some funds for religious purposes. I fear, however, that she will not let them go for a new church at Barnes Bay. You must use, in houses, lay ministers or a missionary priest." Bromby added that the population of Bruni was scant and "perhaps

71. W. R. Barrett, op cit, p 21.

72. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Basset Dickson, 30 June 1868.

diminishing"; but he was not unmindful of them. He had a plan which he hoped soon to put into operation. He had persuaded Synod to place an ordained "mission-priest" on the Channel who would pay occasional but "regular" visits to the island. He had tried, but so far without success, to induce a laymen to accept a licence and conduct divine service in the intervals between the clergyman's visits.

In July 1868, Bromby authorised Rev. M. Williams, of Westbury, to employ lay ministers, to be known as lay-readers or lay-deacons, in the district. In May 1869, Bromby wrote to one Sinclair who had offered⁷³ his services as a lay-reader in the Tunbridge area. Bromby could not grant a formal licence because it had not yet been determined whether Tunbridge belonged to Oatlands or Ross. But he gave a provisional licence, as "a voucher to the church people of the district".

Lay-readers were restricted in the conduct of services. In his letter to Sinclair, Bromby declaimed that they were to omit from the liturgy the absolution and the final blessing, and preach only "such sermons as are published by Church of England Divines, except by the Bishop's own sanction". Despite some opposition, Bromby and his Lay Association established in Tasmania a system of voluntary lay-readers who read prayers, scriptures and sermons. The development of the system of using lay-readers or lay-deacons made possible the amalgamation of Cures as suggested to Synod in 1869, 1870, 1871 and 1872. This amalgamation was made necessary

73. ibid, Bromby/ Sinclair, 24 May 1869.

by the new financial situation resulting from the 1868 State-Aid Commutation Act. The administration of the new scheme was concentrated within rural deaneries established in the two archdeaconries. Canonries were also offered to men of proven worth. Hales of Launceston and Davenport of Hobart were the first recipients of Canonries based on the Cathedral. H. B. Bromby was also made Canon.

Having consolidated ministrations, Bromby next turned his attention to the conduct and arrangement of the services. He criticised strongly the prevalent carelessness and ugliness of services in the diocese of Tasmania. "There is no reason," he said "why we should shock all good taste and devote to the service of God that which is mean, sordid and repulsive." He regretted the unsightly character of many of the churches, and particularly the nature of the pulpits which he called "wooden fortresses", three-decked affairs rising up in the centre of many of the churches and closing out all view of the chancels. In addition, he objected to Communion Tables nestling under the pulpits. These arrangements were used to point to the priority of the preaching of the Word over the administration of the sacraments. It was "evangelicalism gone mad". Wherever he went, Bromby counselled reform. In his episcopate these outward signs of extreme churchmanship began to decline. Bromby became more determined than ever to establish a new cathedral which would be a prototype of form and service.

Bromby next tried to extend the social ministry of the Church. He had early received a £200 parliamentary grant for the spiritual care of

the penal and charitable establishments. He encouraged J. H. Smales to work as a Deacon among the inmates of the Brickfields establishment, which work was later taken over by H. B. Bromby. He sought the extension of this work to the Hobart Town Hospital and the Queen's Asylum. He encouraged Hayward in his work at Port Arthur, spending much time there with him in the early part of his ministry. At Port Arthur, convicts in chains were brought to the Bishop for confirmation.

Surprisingly, as an educationist, Bromby did little, save tender advice. He found Tasmania "enormously backward" in educational affairs. When a single Board of Education was appointed in 1864, it modelled the Tasmanian scheme of primary education on the English Revised Code to which Bromby himself had been violently opposed.⁷⁴ However, in 1868, Bromby was appointed President of the Tasmanian Council of Education and was able to make suggestions for introducing Religion, Commerce and industrial subjects at secondary school level.⁷⁵ To prevent himself becoming involved in controversy, Bromby took little interest in the Working Men's Clubs then beginning in Hobart and Launceston. Many of the members were Roman Catholics. But, in 1867, he introduced evening lectureships at Trinity Church, Hobart.⁷⁶ In 1867 and 1868, the Bishop assisted Alfred Kennerley to plan and establish an Industrial School for poor children in Hobart. Also, he took a deep interest in, and appointed a chaplain, to, the New Town Orphans'

74. C. Reeves, A History of Tasmanian Education. (Melb., 1935.), p 71 et seq.

75. Mercury, 24 September 1868.

76. Bp's L.B., diary entry, 21 August 1867.

Asylum. Bromby stressed the importance of the clergy educating the young and taking whatever opportunities the Board of Education gave them. He advocated the extension of Sunday Schools, the system of public catechising and Confirmation Classes. The influence of the Church was spreading wherever finance, manpower and legislation would allow.

The spread of Church influence was further shown in the Church's building programmes. As early as 1865, Bromby visited Deloraine where he praised the new parsonage house. He encouraged other parishes to follow Deloraine's example and to build. On 14 December 1865, St Mary's Church at the Lake River was opened. James Marsh Norman was Chaplain there. In 1865 and 1866, the Hamilton parish was building up endowments which were additional to the Government's grant of township land. The year 1867 saw the Bromby building era begin in earnest. The Committee for the new Cathedral in Hobart had raised enough money to announce a date for the laying of the foundation stone. The Duke of Edinburgh would perform the ceremony during his visit in 1868. Other centres were spurred on to plan and build. Country centres, impressed by the apparent success of the Cathedral fund, appealed that their own needs should not be forgotten.⁷⁷ The following were effected during the period 1865:1872 -

7 February 1868: Chapel-of-Ease, Constitution Hill in the township of Shepton Montacute. Bromby laid the corner stone.⁷⁸

77. C.N., June 1866.

78. C.N., March 1868; Bp's L.B., Bromby/Henry Adams, of Jericho, 4 February 1868.

1 March 1868: Chudleigh, in the Deloraine district. Bromby opened the Church. The Church was begun in 1866. Hugh Miles, "a poor carpenter, offered his services free of charge and build the Church himself, although he had a large family".⁷⁹

St Peter's Church, Fingal, was started in March 1867; it was not consecrated until 1877. John Chambers revealed the conditions of Cullenswood in 1868.⁸⁰

The Church of St James, Darlington Park on the Macquarie, was consecrated on 30 October 1867. ⁸¹

St Luke's, Latrobe, where C. J. Martin was the Incumbent, was started in 1867 and finished 6 May 1868.

St John the Baptist at Ouse Bridge was consecrated on 9 May 1868. It was built through the generosity of W. A. Bethune of "Dun-robin".

St John's Church, Ross, was demolished and rebuilt in 1868.

All Saints's, Forth, was opened on 27 March 1868, and Holy Trinity, the Leven (Ulverstone), was opened for service on 26 October 1868.

St Peter's Church, St Leonard's was consecrated on 13 May 1869.

St Paul's, O'Brien's Bridge (Glenorchy, Hobart) was consecrated on 23 June 1870.

Sir Richard Dry's Church at Hagley was added to in 1869 and 1870, and consecrated by Bromby on 24 August 1871.

The foundation stone of All Saints' Church, Swansea, on the east coast, was laid on 1 February 1871; Bromby opened the Church on 12 November 1872. (The Incumbent, Rev. Joseph Mayson, had been appointed to the East Coast in 1838; he remained there until 1876.)

When Rev. A. N. Mason (later Archdeacon of Hobart) went to Evandale in 1868, the old Church was pulled down. St Andrew's was re-opened in 1872. The Lymington Church was renovated and enlarged, although not consecrated until 1893.⁸²

-
79. C.N., April 1868.
K. R. von Stieglitz, A Short History of Deloraine. (Launc., 1950.), p 21;
80. C.N., August 1868.
81. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Reibey, 18 October 1867; C.N., December 1867.
82. See T. H. Reibey, Lymington Church Endowment. (Launc., 1870.), for details of Synodical action.

At the 1868 Synod held in Launceston, Bromby reported with pride the considerable increase in the work of church-building and church-extension. He hoped that the new churches would act as centres from which clergymen and lay deacons could minister to the scattered population. Bromby reported that a clergyman (Symonds) had been appointed to minister to settlers along D'Entrecasteaux Channel in the South. Laymen had been licensed to work at South Arm. Two men (Mitchell and Brome) had been appointed for missionary work in the North. The Church of England could now unite, by a network of ministrations, the entire north coast from Port Sorell to Circular Head.

In 1870, Bromby gave his consent for the enlargement of St John's Church, Launceston. "There is no doubt," he said, "that besides the increased accommodation, there will be some improvement in effect. But this effect would be still greater if the chancel could be somewhat enlarged. I say this because the church is the principal church in the archdeaconry, and it is more than possible that it may in the event of any large increase in the population in the north become a cathedral church and Launceston the city of a new diocese." Bromby wished to secure the opportunity to accommodate a choir in the chancel. To enlarge the chancel Bromby suggested "removing the present tower which, like that of the old St David's, is wholly devoid of architectural beauty". This done, the extension of the church could be effected westward instead of eastwards, the existing chancel retained and a new tower added later. "In the arrangement of the seating in all the new churches," wrote Bromby, "a middle aisle should be left, and it

should be clear and open. This need involve no loss of accommodation." ⁸³

Pleased as he was with the improvement of both the quantity and quality of the ministers and the standard of churches and worships, Bromby was saddened that so little could be done for the missionary cause of the church, particularly in the islands of Bass Straits. Even before leaving England, Bromby had pleaded the cause of the islanders. Bishop Nixon had also launched an appeal at the same time for funds to help T. H. Reibey, then in England, to try to purchase a boat for that missionary work. From the time he arrived in Tasmania, Bromby never ceased to press the claims of the Bass Straits' Mission. But his high hopes for an effective mission were not fulfilled. Unlike Nixon, who had made several trips to the Flinders' Group in the Beacon, Bromby made no missionary journeys. But he remained interested in the needs of the half-castes, and he assisted Reibey in his schemes to purchase the Maggie Laurie and the Gift to service the islands and the north coast. ⁸⁴ The Government was still unprepared to give liberal assistance for this work. It offered only £250 provided the Church raised a like annual amount. The Church's finances would not allow adequate grants. Dissenters still objected to a mission exclusively Church of England. Synod required that an annual Offertory Collection should be made on behalf of Missionary Work. In 1866, Bromby requested that, Synod should elect to support the Mission to the Islands of Bass Straits which was then being undertaken by Reibey at his own expense.

83. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Brownrigg, 13 May 1870.

84. B.C., Reibey/Davies, 8 February 1865.

Reibey had built, launched and equipped the Missionary schooner almost entirely from his own pocket. He had also "exposed his life to the tempestuous Straits that divide the North Coast and the numerous islands where the half-castes live." If the Government could not provide assistance, then Bromby thought the Church should. However, with many demands being made on Churchmen, this new appeal was not welcomed by Synod. Under resolution of Synod, dated January 1862, the collections were to be made for foreign missions. A small group worked for the Melanesian Mission and were not prepared to change their allegiance. In any case, the collections made from March to October 1865 amounted only to £33.10. 0. and this from⁸⁵ nine parishes. However, Synod agreed to use the Whitsunday collection for either of the missionary causes. Neither Government nor Church could be accused of being over-zealous in the Missionary cause. Undeterred, Reibey carried on his work. Even as the 1866 Synod met, he had already been for some weeks at sea in the Gift visiting the settlements on the north coast.

The Tasmanian press took up Reibey's cause. Reibey made available to them the journal of his most recent cruise, March to April 1866. He had visited Torquay, the "New Ground" and Formby, at Torquay, where he inducted Martin into his new Cure. He then visited Wynyard and Table Cape, where he gave encouragement to Smith, his recently ordained protege. He next went to Circular Head, where he worshipped with Drew and his congregation in St Paul's Church, Stanley. On 25 March, Reibey was conducting divine service in the school-room at the Pilot's Station, George Town Head. C

85. D.S.T., 1866.

Two days later, he was at Waterhouse Island. By 30 March, despite rough weather and heavy seas, the Gift was at Chapel Island where Reibey visited the people, distributed books and tracts, conducted open-air services, and baptised four children. Reibey then visited Goose Island, and was heading for Big Dog Island when the Gift got stuck on a sandbank. Hiring another boat, Reibey visited the sealers on three adjacent islands, held services, baptised children, and distributed books at every cottage. He inspected the proposed site for a school-house on Barren Island. The Gift was not seaworthy enough to visit the Hunter and King's Island or the settlers on Montague River. The Tasmanian press hoped that such service would bring financial aid. Reibey himself wrote, "I trust the Churchmen of Tasmania will lend me some help in carrying on the Mission. At present I may almost say that I am left alone to bear the burden of the whole expense. I ask not for one farthing for my own time and labour; neither do I desire to spend a single penny in providing myself with comforts or luxuries. But I do ask for aid to enable me to pay all the necessary expenses of the Mission." ⁸⁶ Brownrigg of Ross, and later of St John's Launceston, and Fereday and his people of George Town later gave personal encouragement and assistance to the Missions to the Islands. Southerners remained generally apathetic. The Furneaux Islands' Mission Fund had little success. After Reibey had resigned his archdeaconry, the 1871 Synod asked the Bishop for information respecting the state of the Mission Fund. Insinuations were made that Reibey had dealt dishonestly with the Ripon Fund accounts, the

Lyminster Church Endowment Fund and the Furneaux Islands' Mission Fund.

Bromby replied that Reibey had assured Synod that the Fund was in debt to him, Reibey, and that there were no moneys to hand over. A Committee reported otherwise. It claimed that over £600 was left unaccounted for.⁸⁷

The 1872 Synod asked Reibey to explain. The work among island settlers succumbed for a time amidst the noise and clamour of Archdeacon Reibey's resignation. The Bishop himself had done his utmost to support the cause. When Reibey exchanged the Gift for the Pearl, in an effort to cut his losses, Bromby added £50 to the £150 he had given earlier from funds he had collected in England. Bromby showed the same interest in the island settlers as he did in all other scattered settlers in his diocese.

Bromby had the doubtful fault of rarely thinking badly of a person. This led him to impose trust, especially in some of the old "servants of the Lord", which was often betrayed. His advocacy of tolerance made it difficult for him to seek to impose "strict" discipline. The "fault" had been with him from Cheltenham days. Bromby sought to encourage and advise. In doing this, rather than in dictating policy, he was often accused of weakness and vacillation. But he was generally loved. No one could doubt that the diocese was advancing, even if the advance was not spectacular. There was none of the vicious animosity between Bishop and clergy and people accompanying the changes as in Nixon's day. The Bishop aimed to encourage changes from the people themselves. After all, he was an educationist. Under Synod, the people and the clergy found

87. D.S.T., 1871, p 41 et seq.

themselves not only learning from their achievement, but learning from their mistakes. They readily accepted the former situation, but not always the latter. In seeking a scapegoat, they had traditionally eyed the bishop. It was Bromby's achievement that they began to look to themselves.

The Church in 1872.

The Tasmanian Church in 1872 was essentially a lazy and dependent Church. Most of its clergy looked half-heartedly to England for direction and advice. They did not easily adopt Bromby's vision. He regarded the Tasmanian Church as part of a wider, closely-knit Australian province with distinct missionary responsibilities not only on their own soil but towards the islanders of the Pacific. It was not until Montgomery's episcopate, which saw Federation in Australia, that Bromby's vision was truly captured. Tasmanian Churchmen, cut off from the developing and prospering mainland states, were inclined to parochialism, and even the Synod was seen in a parochial rather than a diocesan setting, established to implement parochial needs rather than diocesan. Although arrangements had been made for a dual Synod location, there was as yet no definite ruling about the intervals, and the Council of Advice still made the recommendations of the location subject to the whims and conveniences of certain leading churchmen, both clerical and lay. If this parochialism touched the meetings and rulings of Synod, despite the genuine diocesan sense of the few, it touched financial arrangements more so. The 1873 Synod saw the visionary bishop pleading once more for unselfish contributions to the General Church Fund

and to endowments, that the poorer parishes might be helped to essential ministrations. It seemed impossible to move some parishes to extra-parochial thinking and acting, despite the appeals of the bishop and the archdeacons through Synod, the establishment of Rural Deanery advisory boards, and the influence of the Church News. The inward looking attitude of so many Tasmanian parishes hindered the fund raising for the new cathedral, yet at the same time brought about a competitive impetus to local building. The building era was an encouraging and lasting aspect of Bromby's episcopate. The Bishop's desire to use the cathedral as a type for the other parishes throughout the diocese caused resentment both from parishioners of St David's and from other parishes who, rather than follow the cathedral way, introduced improved yet peculiar services into their own churches. New churches often brought with them a new outlook; and for this Bromby was grateful. The attitude of many of the Tasmanian lay people, so conservative as to make changes unwelcome, brought frustration to many of Bromby's new clergy. Several returned to England, and some went to the mainland. Despite Bromby's own efforts to break down partisanship and to introduce no party men into his diocese his own son began to encourage a high church movement. Yet the people remained adamantly and traditional evangelical.

The Bishop counselled and preached a wider unity, both provincial-
88
ly and with other churches. He saw the cathedral, now almost ready for
89
consecration, as a symbol of diocesan unity. Bromby now saw himself as

88. C.N., May 1873.

89. ibid.

the Diocesan more clearly than at any other time in his episcopate. With his work centred on the new cathedral, with ministrations consolidated and Synod established, Bromby felt himself Bishop of a "united" diocese. A new resolution of Synod required all vacancies to be referred to Synod. This gave Bromby much more flexibility in controlling the movements of clergy. Bromby reported to the 1873 Synod further development in church extension. As well as those recently opened or consecrated, churches were projected at Long Bay, Peppermint Bay and Port Cygnet in the South, and at Penguin Creek on the North Coast. The church at Table Cape was almost ready for consecration.

The great problem of finance remained. The Bishop generously offered to raise one half of the cost of a Bishop's house and to forego £170 to £200 of his own stipend, thus leaving the glebe endowment to the Finance Committees. Moreover, he advocated more and more the consolidation of parishes, with curates working under senior clergy. But the 1873 Synod was mainly concerned with the acceptance of the Determinations of the 1872 steering committee of General Synod, with resolutions relating to a vacancy in the See, and with regulations for the government of the new Cathedral. Most of these matters had been broached by Bromby through his Council of Advice. Yet there was a general indifference among the laymen.

The Bishop refused to let apathy dampen his hopes for the future of his Diocese. Bromby hoped to educate Tasmanian laymen and clergy to glimpse his vision. He was faced, however, with the declining importance of the See and the Diocese of Tasmania. Whereas once an appointment to Tasmania was regarded as promotion within the Colonial Church, Tasmania's

isolation and educational lag caused Churchmen to look elsewhere both for theological training and promotion. Tasmania was becoming more and more subservient to Sydney and Melbourne. Bromby hoped that, through the establishment of a new Cathedral government and the resuscitation of the old Christ's College, he might be able to develop and direct a loyal, indigenous clergy. However, the success of his plans depended on the Tasmanian Church itself. It must learn to welcome the outside influence which it sought, and to accept guidance and advice.

Compiled from certified Returns: ARTHUR DAVENPORT, *Secretary of Synod.*

1873.

Chapter Six

CLERICAL DISCIPLINE, AND CHURCH THOUGHT.

1865:1872

I: CLERICAL DISCIPLINE: The Church Discipline Act, 1859.

Until 1859, Church discipline in Tasmania rested upon the authority, however tenuous, of the Bishop. He had to administer justice as best he could. He could follow no prescribed procedure; there was no definite law. His power was nominally unlimited in extent and indefinite in operation. By the Church Act of 1837, the Bishop could not act legally, but he could appoint clergymen to act as a commission of inquiry. The Bishop could charge the commission to embody in their report a suggestion as to what degree of censure should be adjudged. Nixon reserved to himself the right not to increase, but to relax, any stringency he thought over-harsh.¹ After that, the Bishop hoped to avail himself of the "Diocese at large in Synod assembled" to pronounce on disciplinary measures. This was the first step towards formulating regulations for the exercise of Church discipline in the Diocese of Tasmania. Nixon sought Synodal relief from his difficulty.

From 1859, Church discipline in Tasmania rested upon authority conferred by an Act of the Tasmanian Parliament. 22 Victoria No. 20 enabled Synod to establish Tribunals for the Trial of Ecclesiastical offences "as well those involving breaches of Discipline as questions of Doctrine

1. Original Minutes of the Diocesan Synod of Tasmania, 1857:1880.
(1857 Minutes.)

and the Ritual of the Church". An "Act to provide for the Trial of Ecclesiastical offences" was passed by Synod in 1859. It was known as "The Church Discipline Act". It was an Act of the Tasmanian Synod and not of the Tasmanian Parliament.

Those who framed this law set themselves to guard against known evils. The Act was conditioned by two things: the previous state of the Church in Tasmania, and the composition of the Synod whose work was to reform and reconstruct it. On the one hand, it was full of checks and restraints upon the Bishop in his administration of discipline; and, on the other hand, it checked the action of complainants in calling up that administration. It aimed to be repressive rather than judicial. As the Bishop was already contemplating retirement, and as parishioners had long since adopted the "rough justice" of starving a clergyman out, neither party expressed deep concern. The clergy, generally, were satisfied. The bishop's hand was held.

Under the Act, proceedings could be instituted in two ways. A complaint could be laid by any person, prepared to set down a definite charge, to the Church Advocate, appointed by Synod or by the Chancellor with the consent of Synod. The charges, signed as "a Declaration in the nature of a Deposition," would then be referred to the Bishop and the clergyman complained of. A preliminary enquiry would be held by the Church Advocate and Church Triers, lay and clerical, to determine whether *prima facie* grounds existed for proceeding with the matter. If the charge were deemed "frivolous," it would not be proceeded with. If not,

the Church Advocate would issue Articles of Accusation, and witnesses would be called. The complainant had to deposit a sufficient sum to defray the expenses of action before the Chancellor and Four Triers, two lay and two clerical chosen by lot from eight men appointed by Synod, according to the Archdeaconry, North or South. This Court would decide the guilt and the penalty. It would then refer its findings to the Bishop for his "pronouncement of sentence". In this way the power of the Bishop was greatly abridged. If the suit were lost, the sum deposited would be forfeited. If gained, the guilty cleric would have to pay, unless of course he could persuade the parish or the community to do so. There was little likelihood that financial loss would be risked for the sake of clerical justice. There was another way of instituting proceedings. Without preliminary enquiry or deposition, the Bishop could instruct the Church Advocate to issue Articles of Accusation for a trial. In that case, no provision was made for payment of expenses. Certainly, at that time, the "General Church Fund" could not bear the costs. The Church in Tasmania was poor and unendowed. The disciplinary law was found to be ineffective because of this poverty. Before Bromby's day, it was not invoked.

Clerical Discipline: Bromby and Early Disciplinary Problems

In the early years of his episcopate, Bromby found that although the Act anticipated the Bishop's early intervention as exceptional, complaints almost invariably came directly to him for trial and pronouncement.

However, all he could do, as Bishop, was to refer informants to the Act. There the matter would end. Generally, there was neither skill, zeal, money nor vindictiveness to carry the complaint further. The Church invariably suffered through the lack of a trial. If the Act "protected the clergy from the Authoritarianism of the Bishop", it certainly did not protect the Church in Tasmania from social scandal, ritual aberration or doctrinal heresy.

Laymen had formerly welcomed Nixon's informed Commissions of Inquiry. Now, if Bromby instituted such commissions, they would have to be followed by trials under the conditions of the 1859 Act. As neither clergy nor laymen generally appreciated the new position of the Bishop in respect to Church discipline, they were inclined to criticise Bromby rather than the Church Discipline Act. The Bishop's insistence on upholding the Churchmen's constitutional rights as expressed in that Act was interpreted by the uninformed as weakness. It was the Act that was weak, not the Bishop. By proving its weakness, Bromby wrought its change, strengthened the constitutional relationships between Bishop and clergy and enhanced the effectiveness of Synod. He cared little if he suffered in the process.

The Church Court should have been set in motion on numerous occasions between 1859 and 1874. In fact, it was anticipated but thrice: in the first case, the charge was withdrawn and the case dropped; in the second, the Act clearly broke down. Lawyers shunned it, complainants distrusted it; the Bishop himself gave it up as ineffective. In August 1870, after a Church dignitary failed to vindicate his character in a civil court,

one more attempt was made to invoke the Church Court following a Bishop's Commission. The attempt was unsuccessful; the case was dropped, and another clergyman lost both position and health. Obviously, Church discipline required further Synodal legislation. As years passed, Bromby determined upon a new "Act for the Trial of Ecclesiastical offences."

Bromby had barely arrived in Tasmania when an extraordinary incident occurred affecting diocesan discipline. An ordination had been arranged at St Luke's Church, Campbell Town, on St Luke's Day 1865. The ordinands were, for priest's orders, K. W. Kirkland (deacon in charge of Campbell Town), and, for deacon's orders, Richard Smith and Henry Adams. Dr. W. Valentine, the local medical practitioner and a devoted churchman, objected to Kirkland's ordination on doctrinal grounds: "when he approached the Holy Table and knelt before it, he used to kneel at the West facing East". This was a party issue in which Valentine was joined by Stackhouse and other staunchly evangelical clergymen. They saw Kirkland's actions as expressing "the dangerous and most insidious doctrine of the Corporal Presence," and as "retracing the way towards Rome". The Bishop "surceased from ordering" Kirkland and proceeded to ordain the deacons.

The case against Kirkland was referred to the "Triers of the Church Court". Articles of Accusation were issued on the deciding vote of the Church Advocate. Bromby wanted to act "as Father-in-God rather than through the Court as judge," and told Valentine so. Valentine then wrote to Bromby withdrawing from any further prosecution. He did not wish to stand in the way of such "peaceable adjustment of the difficulty" as he hoped might be

brought about by the Bishop's influence with Kirkland. Bromby interviewed Kirkland and informed him:

"(I) interpret the fourth rubric as enjoining the priest to take the North side, not of the front, of the Lord's Table but of the Table itself."

In relation to the position at the consecration,

"If any priest should prefer to remain before the Table, he would not be forbidden to do so, but to break the bread 'before the people' he would have to turn to the people".

A Church Court, in giving judgment, could have damaged Kirkland's ecclesiastical career. But it could also have spared Bromby criticism and embarrassment, and the difficulty of adopting a "via media", which was apparently untenable if Anglican formularies were rigidly adhered to. Since he chose a conciliatory episcopal part, Bromby was accused of being "vacillating and uncertain" in doctrinal interpretation,² and of "evincing great weakness" on two scores: not taking a determined stand against Valentine's "frivolous" complaint, and not insisting on the evangelical position he more than insinuated should be held.³ However, Bromby was anxious to avoid a recurrence of the bitter party strife of the Nixon episcopate. He therefore took the "middle position". In doing so, he was hopelessly defeated by Valentine in doctrinal argument. With Anglican formularies, if not tolerance, on his side, Valentine could maintain his position throughout.

2. Cornwall Chronicle, 25 April 1866.

3. W. Valentine, Papers and Correspondence Relative to the Ordination, held at Campbell Town on 21st December last, (Hobart 1866);

Bp's L.B., Bromby/Valentine, 23 December 1865.

On 19 December 1865, Bromby wrote,

"It is now no longer Popish to consecrate the love of the beautiful and the imaginative to God's worship; and heart-stirring services are associated with earnest preaching. Red-lettered prayer books and illuminated texts and pictures no longer should frighten the most suspicious. Everything that is not in itself evil is claimed for the Lord".

Bromby was echoing his first sermon delivered in Launceston. Then, on 7 March 1866, he wrote,

"Kirkland has surrendered his liberty to my judgment, and from this point of view it was a surrender not of liberty only, but also of his interpretation of the Rubrical command as well as of his doctrinal teaching".⁴

Recognising the limitations of the Church Court, especially in respect to the Bishop's doctrinal pronouncements, Bromby dissuaded extremists from calling it. Quite against his own will, yet in an attempt to ~~restore episcopal discretion in doctrinal matters and to avoid a renewal~~ of party strife, he had been forced to deny the right of private judgment to a High-Churchman. In opposition to his own views, yet by episcopal command, Kirkland yielded his liberty of conscience in matters doctrinal. The new position was alarming. Signatories to the "Solemn Declaration," who had campaigned for the right of private judgment, were confused and embarrassed. Revs A. Stackhouse, W. R. Bennett and W. Richardson, all signatories who opposed Kirkland's ordination, remained silent in dissent. So did Valentine. Kirkland had no difficulty in submitting to Bromby's unofficial request. It was a "frivolous" matter, after all, that he was called upon to observe. Although a newspaper reported that

"Bromby is too easy to please parties, and the party he con-

4. Bp's L.B., 7 March 1866.

siders the most powerful seems to be the one he is most likely to favour,"⁵

the Bishop was, in fact, showing himself opposed to partisan bias. Moreover, doubts expressed in England in respect to authority conferred by Letters Patent made Bromby hesitate to test his episcopal powers under the disciplinary law in Tasmania. Kirkland was ordained priest St David's Cathedral, Hobart, on Quinquagesima Sunday, 1866. Rev. W. A. Brooke, Headmaster of Launceston Church Grammar School (1864-1871), was re-ordained with him.

The case of Brooke revealed again the lack of an effective disciplinary tribunal where the Bishop could legally pronounce on doctrinal issues. Brooke, of Trinity College, Cambridge, was appointed Headmaster, temporarily, in 1864. T. H. Reibey, Archdeacon of Launceston, had advised Davies to decline to confirm the appointment on the grounds that Brooke was unworthy of Orders. Ten years previously, when Brooke was Sub-Warden of Christ's College, Nixon had inhibited his preaching on the grounds of his "most grievous Heterodoxy - truly lamentable Heresy". Reibey supported Nixon. Brooke felt himself unable to embrace the Christian faith as taught by the Church of England. Like Colenso and others elsewhere, he objected to basic doctrine, biblical interpretation and Christian exclusiveness. He resigned his work as a clergyman in Tasmania, and returned to England. Brooke remained there until Rev. H. P. Kane resigned the position of Headmaster of Launceston Church Grammar School. Brooke then applied for the post.

When Bromby arrived in Tasmania, the Grammar School authorities asked that Brooke's appointment should be confirmed by the Bishop. Bromby

5. Cornwall Chronicle, 25 April 1866.

6. Bromby Papers: Bromby to Reibey, 5 October 1865.

confirmed Brooke's appointment in 1866, and re-ordained him the same year. The Bishop was supported by Rev. F. Hales, who admired Brooke's scholarship and courage and claimed him for Sunday services at Holy Trinity, Launceston where he, Hales, was Incumbent. Bromby was opposed by Northern Tasmanian newspapers, who maintained that Brooke would never have again occupied a pulpit if Nixon had retained charge of the Episcopal See of Tasmania. Frequently, during Brooke's headmastership, the Press accused Brooke of "neglecting adequate religious exercises."

Meanwhile, Bromby had declared himself satisfied with Brooke as a candidate for re-ordination. Reibey objected; and so did many Launceston church-folk, on the grounds of Brooke's earlier and continuing heresy. Bromby refused to accept their charge on Brooke's "present integrity". The Bishop was prepared to refer the matter to the ecclesiastical court, having first instructed the Triers on doctrinal issues. Northern parties refused to become "accusers". They declined to prosecute. Bromby had anticipated this refusal. Severe criticism of Bromby became rife. Brooke's appointment was called "a fruitful source of bitterness," and when he began his duties at Holy Trinity, Launceston, in 1866, "pews of old, respected and devoted Churchmen emptied; and members of the congregation for many years began vacating their Church upon the advent of one by sheer favour of His Lordship".

An enmity festered between Reibey and Hales. The enmity was vocal and prolonged. Each claimed clerical and lay supporters. Cornwall Chronicle wrote on 25 April 1866:

"Even in the ranks of the Dissenters we hear of no such unseemly bickerings as those which disturb the peaceful progress of the

Protestant "Established" Church; and if anything could induce the representatives of the people to discontinue granting money in aid of it, such bickerings are well calculated to that end."

Meanwhile, as Court action had not been claimed, Bromby requested Brooke to make a "voluntary recantation of the heresies formerly entertained". This was to take place at Holy Trinity, Launceston, on 22 February 1866, before Archdeacon T. H. Reibey. The following clergy had responded to the Archdeacon's summons to attend:

Rev. Dr. W. H. Browne	(St John's, Launceston)
Rev. C. R. Arthur	Evandale,
Rev. F. Brownrigg	Patterson's Plains,
Rev. S. B. Fookes	Perth,
Rev. F. Hales	Holy Trinity, Launceston
Rev. H. O. Irwin	Hagley,
Rev. A. N. Mason	Carrick - curacy,
Rev. J. M. Norman	Cressy, Bishopsbourne and Lake River,
Rev. A. Stackhouse	Longford
Rev. M. Williams	Westbury.

A very small congregation attended. Divine service was celebrated. On behalf of Bromby, Reibey received Brooke back as an acting minister of the Church. Hales read the morning service. Brooke went to the lectern and "read an account of his wavering, and the doubts which induced him to withdraw from the ministry of the Church ten years ago, and how by God's infinite mercy those doubts were dispelled and he could now declare his unfeigned assent to the doctrines of Christianity".⁷ Newspapers reported "a very general, though not very loudly expressed" disgust with regard to the recantation and the motives which apparently led to it. Bromby was widely, though unjustly, criticised; and not least of all by Reibey. The Bishop

was regarded as inconsistent and afraid to impose discipline. Yet his wisdom and tolerance prevailed.

The next year, 1867, saw what Bromby called "The most unhappy divisions on the north coast". He had appointed Rev. C. J. Martin to Torquay and Northdown. Bromby wanted to ordain a catechist, C. B. Brome, who had worked the area, to minister to the Leven and Forth. Some parishioners and Martin himself, wished to be rid of Brome, and they objected to the division of the Cure. Most acrimonious correspondence took place and, although Bromby even offered to contribute towards a satisfactory stipend for each, he was unable to allay Martin's antagonism. The possibility of action in the ecclesiastical court was mentioned, but obviously the scope of the court and the Bishop's own Letters Patent prevented such indignity. None-the-less, had finances been available, legal proceedings against Martin, for gross insubordination, would have been to the Church's and the Bishop's advantage at that time. "The bishop's treatment of my case is both discreditable and dishonourable," wrote Martin. To which the Bishop replied that he hoped, in the known absence of adequate legal machinery to enforce discipline, Martin was the only clergyman in the Diocese who would be guilty of such gross personal discourtesy.⁸ The Bishop held his ground. Brome was ordained, and the two areas were worked as separate cures, with stipends supplemented from Bromby's own pocket, and to the ultimate satisfaction and well-being of the parishioners in both places.

8. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Martin, 16 August 1867, 6 September, 1867.

Clerical Discipline: The Reibey Case, 1870

The case of the Venerable Thomas Haydock Reibey, Archdeacon of Launceston, gave Bromby his greatest disciplinary problem. It showed most clearly the urgent need for ecclesiastical Court reform.

Like his political friend and mentor, T. G. Gregson, who was Premier of Tasmania in 1857, Reibey's personality was one that made either devoted friends or bitter enemies. This was due as much to his background as to his position and wealth.

Thomas Haydock Reibey was born on 24 September 1821 at his father's house in Launceston. He became a member of the Church on 3 October 1821 when he was baptised by Rev. John Youl, one of the earliest clergyman in Northern Tasmania. His father was Captain Thomas Reibey, a Launceston shipowner and merchant; his mother, Richardia Allen, was daughter of a Sydney medical practitioner, Richard Allen, who had been a companion of the Prince Regent.

T. H. Reibey's paternal grandparents were colourful personalities in early Sydney. They were Captain Thomas Reibey, formerly an East India Company trader, and Mary Reibey (nee Haydock) who was the orphaned daughter of a Lancashire surveyor and naval officer, later of Blackburn in Yorkshire. The grandmother had been transported to New South Wales on the "Royal Admiral," a ship belonging to the East India Company. She was fifteen, and she had stolen a horse. Her future husband, then a Sub-Lieutenant in the Royal Admiral, had protected her during the voyage. In Australia, he arranged for

her education in the household of Lt-Governor Gross. He married her on 1 September 1794 at St Phillip's Church, Sydney, Richard Johnson and Samuel Marsden officiating.

Before long, Thomas and Mary Reibey had developed strong trading interests in the Colony of New South Wales, and they plied a strong trade between New South Wales, India and the South Seas, in their own fleet. With Edward Wills, they sailed in Bass Straits. They were granted farm lands on the Hawkesbury and, in 1803, built the family home, Entally Hall, Newtown, Sydney, naming it after Entally near Calcutta.

At Mrs Reibey's request Lt-Governor Paterson, who was also Lt-Governor for the northern half of Tasmania until 1812, appointed Captain Reibey Pilot of Port Jackson.⁹ The love of the sea was too strong. He went abroad again. Suffering sunstroke in India, he died in Sydney in 1811, aged thirty-six. His family of seven children included three boys. Mary Reibey took over her husband's businesses and trading interests. She became an outstanding business woman. According to Bishop W. G. Broughton, she was also "praiseworthy in the highest degree for her exertions in the cause of religion, scarcely to be paralleled in any instance."¹⁰

On 6 May 1796, her eldest son Thomas Haydock Reibey had been born. Soon after his father's death, he was working the businesses with his mother. Before 1818, he had been trading on the Tamar. Reibey's Wharf

9. Sydney Gazette, 26 March 1809.

10. K. Von Stieglitz, Entally - Pageant of a Pioneer Family

was the first one of any size in Launceston.

In June 1818, Governor Lachlan Macquarie ordered Lt-Governor Sorrell to grant indulgences to Thomas Haydock Reibey and his family. These included a grant of land (later called "Entally"), milking cows, rations for men and other items which would be likely to encourage the wealthy young colonist to make his home permanently in Tasmania. Reibey built "Entally House" in 1821. His second son, James, was born there in 1823. Both sons spent their childhood there.

Thomas Haydock Junior and James Haydock, his brother, were educated at the Longford Academy by William G. Elliston. They left for England on 3 March 1838, and they were coached in Plymouth by the Scottish tutor, Dr Kyle, for Trinity College, Oxford. Entered ^{at} Trinity in May 1840, they planned to train for the Church. In October 1842, James married Catherine McDonall Kyle, his tutor's daughter. In the same month, his father died at "Entally", and Thomas Reibey left Oxford, to claim his patrimony. He carried letters dimissory from the Bishop of Exeter, which secured him Nixon's patronage. Reibey arrived from England with his wife in 1843.

Reibey was "noted for his handsome face, his physique, and achievements as an all-round sportsman; but he was not the carefree non-intellectual who had few thoughts beyond his stables and the hunts of Entally".¹¹ In recognition of his later attainments as a scholar, his University conferred on him an honorary M.A.,

Becoming friends with Nixon, Reibey was granted a licence to con-

11. F. C. Green (ed.), A Century of Responsible Government. (Hobart, 1956.), p 145.

duct services. He had hoped to make Entally the active centre of a parish. However, the growing village of Carrick seemed better suited. The first Carrick services were held in a blacksmith's shop. Then Reibey purchased and gave seven acres of land for a church, erected a brick school-house to serve as a Chapel, and, in 1846, reconstructed it into a beautiful Church. In addition to this munificence, he performed his ministrations without cost to parishioners.

Christ Church, Longford, was "consecrated" by Nixon on Sunday 5¹² October 1844. Reibey was ordained there the same morning. He was the second Tasmanian-born person to receive Holy Orders. He assisted in the Carrick area in 1844 and 1845. Reibey received priest's orders on 28 October 1845, and was made a surrogate on 13 July 1846. On 18 March 1847, he was appointed Minister of Holy Trinity Launceston and, on 27 April 1850, he became curate of Hadspen and Carrick. He worked both places until 1862. In 1857, Reibey launched an appeal for a "new episcopal church" at Hadspen. On 19 May 1858, following Archdeacon Tancred's return to England, Reibey was appointed Archdeacon of Launceston. His interests in the Straits Missions took him to the Furneaux Islands in 1863. He had been named as a possible successor to Nixon in 1864.

In 1864 he was in England, where he met the new Bishop, Bromby, and reported very favourably upon him. On 23 December 1868, Bromby was^{present} present for the laying of the foundation stone of the new Hadspen Church; but the building was not completed until almost ninety-three years later.

12. The Church of the Good Shepherd, Hadspen, Tasmania. (Pamphlet.)
p.4.



Thomas Haydock Reibey.

circa 1850.

After Portrait owned by Mrs P. A. Harrison.

Disagreement with the Bishop was one reason given for the cessation of the Hadspen church building operations. Also there were insinuations of a disagreeable, overbearing nature, and of jealousy and intrigue.

If Reibey's wealth, influence and popularity brought him friends, they also brought him enemies amongst both Churchmen and laity. Private correspondence in 1868 gives a hint of such animosity. A deep slight was put upon Reibey by a section of the community who were animated by partisan bias. Moreover, because of his origins, Reibey was not considered respectable enough to be numbered amongst the "exclusive Vandemonian society". Yet he was wealthy and successful.

On 30 May 1868, Dr William Henry Browne resigned the cure of St John's Launceston, after nearly forty years of service there. The Church was flourishing. In 1863, a new organ had been installed and paid for - an event of great importance at that time. A new chancel had been dedicated in 1866. Browne was a member of the old Evangelical School. He was President of the Bible Society. Greatly respected in Launceston, Browne was one of the founders of Launceston Grammar School and the Savings Bank of Launceston. On 18 May 1868, as soon as the Governor-in-Council had consented to grant Browne a retiring pension, Bromby asked Reibey to
13
summon the Board of Patronage to select a successor. Reibey wished to combine his position as Archdeacon with that of Incumbent of St John's Church. He resented the Board of Patronage, and he thought that he himself should have been appointed by the Bishop. Browne, Hales, Brooke and

13. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Reibey, 18 May 1868.

others objected to Reibey's lobbying. On 1 June 1868, the Board of Patronage met under Kane's chairmanship, but it could not agree on a successor to Browne. Unaware of Reibey's intrigues, Bromby wrote to him, "What can be done? Perhaps Mr. Brooke will submit to harness, at least on Sundays".¹⁴ Both Reibey and the St John's parishioners objected to such a proposal; and Reibey's claims were still being pressed by Charles Arthur, curate of Carrick, and others.

As Reibey was striving to secure the Incumbency of St John's, Launceston, a letter was published in the Launceston Examiner. It was signed by Henry Blomfield of "Strathmore". The letter reflected on the moral character of a "dignitary of the Church"; but the name of the dignitary was not given. *reference*

An adjourned meeting of the Board of Patronage was held on 30 June 1868. This time, Stackhouse acted as chairman and Dr Valentine was present. Reibey's candidature was passed over. A requisition, seeking to avoid extremes in churchmanship, was presented to the Board. It was signed by upwards of 220 parishioners, and it asked that Rev. M. B. Brownrigg, of Ross, should be appointed. The Board nominated Brownrigg to the Bishop.

Reibey immediately complained that Ross could not be left without ministrations. Bromby replied that he could not sacrifice "the interests of this important post of the Church," St John's, for an indefinite period. On the same day, he wrote to Stackhouse concurring in the appointment:

"Had I been Patron I should have acted precisely as you have done, as a member of the Board.....I would have passed over the great claims which the Archdeacon possesses".¹⁵

14. ibid, Bromby/Reibey, 5 June 1868.

15. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Stackhouse, 3 July 1868.

Bromby feared that Reibey might have been sacrificed to a party "who have no right to be heard, if they are no better Churchmen than to threaten that they will secede to Dissent if they cannot have their own way". Bromby thought that a person of Brownrigg's calibre ("If he is really a hardworking man, and not simply a preacher") was the minister who was wanted at St John's, Launceston. He told Stackhouse that Launceston had a "medium Churchman" in Hales and a respected High-Churchman in Barkway, though he added, "I never witnessed any of the imitations of Ritualism which you blame, in his church." Launceston now wanted an earnest evangelical preacher like Brownrigg. Bromby wrote:

"I would that we all combined in our single selves the good points of all parties and maintained evangelic truth with apostolic order and discipline; but so long as one party leans too exclusively to one side and another to another, each side must be represented to check each other."¹⁶

Moreover, Bromby stated that he did not hold with Reibey's theory that the Archdeaconry should be united with the Incumbency of St John's. It would be a fortunate accident that combined them, but to insist upon the union as a law, would cramp the Diocese, and would injure either the office of Archdeacon or the parish. In writing to Brownrigg offering the appointment, Bromby said that St John's needed warm, earnest preaching, sympathy with the working class, "congregational but not showy psalmody", and a¹⁷ winning back of those who have separated themselves from the Church.

16. ibid.

17. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Brownrigg, 8 July 1868.

Meanwhile Reibey and the Churchwardens of St John's had fallen out over the supply of Sunday preachers. The churchwardens refused to accept Reibey's nominations. They suspected Romanism. One Sunday early in July, the congregation was left without ministrations. To avoid a repetition of this "scandal", Bromby insisted upon Brownrigg's coming immediately, and arranged for his induction on 2 August. Bromby was daily expecting a certain Mr. Atkinson to arrive from England, and he would provide locum tenens at Ross. "The people are becoming scattered," wrote Bromby. "The sick are unvisited, and all pastoral visitation is suspended".

Reibey complained bitterly about the appointment to St John's, Launceston. On 10 July 1868, he sent to the Bishop his resignation as Archdeacon. However, he declaimed that the matter of St John's was not the only reason for his resignation. There were "reasons many and deep" why he wanted to quit public life. "The long, deep and creeping sorrow" of his wife's illness had told heavily upon his physical and mental exertion. Moreover, property values had decreased. In consequence, the expenses of his office were heavier to bear. Working the Archdeaconry from "Entally" was becoming increasingly difficult. Reibey wanted to part with his estates and settle somewhere in England for the remainder of his days. He had been offered preferment in England a few years before.

Bromby refused to countenance either Reibey's theory about St John's and the Archdeaconry, or his resignation. ¹⁸ Concerning the first, he could see no natural connection between the two offices, and this despite the opinions of the Metropolitan and Bishop Nixon, as urged by Reibey.

18. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Reibey, 13 July 1868.

If Bishop Nixon thought that there was a natural connection, he should have acted upon that conviction and appointed Browne to the Archdeaconry. Surely Nixon would not bind his successor by a rule he would not himself adopt. And if Reibey were nominated to St John's, it would not necessarily follow that on the next vacancy the man best suited for St John's would be best fitted to be Archdeacon.

"The fact is," said Bromby, "that the Board have exercised a constitutional right, being appointed in a constitutional manner; and, having solemnly pledged themselves to act with a sole reference to the Glory of God, and the welfare of souls, I am bound to accept the result as of God's appointment.....I think that you are wrong to feel aggrieved by such exercise of constitutional liberty....."19

As for the resignation, the Bishop could not accept it. Many clergy and laymen supported him in this decision. Bromby knew that there was opposition when Nixon had appointed Reibey, but this opposition had been completely overcome. The few who still objected, through partisan bias, ought not to have their own way in the matter. If they ought, then there was no reason for Reibey to be aggrieved. If they ought not, why should the whole Archdeaconry suffer? Reibey himself had said that all would have rejoiced at his appointment to St John's. They certainly could not rejoice if his resignation were accepted. Moreover, the position of Archdeacon could not be filled. No sufficiently qualified clergyman was available. The post would thus remain vacant, if Reibey resigned, as a reproach either to the "evil" system of popular elections, or to the injudicious advice of Reibey's friends, including the Bishop. Reibey agreed to remain in office until

19. ibid.

20. ibid.

such a time as a successor could be found.

However, rumour and newspapers had it that other, more serious, reasons had animated Reibey's offer to resign. "The Church dignitary," mentioned by Henry Blomfield, was now known to be Reibey. Blomfield spoke freely of attempts made by Reibey, who had been a friend of the family, to seduce and rape his wife. The attempts had been made both at "Strathmore" and "Entally". Reibey had also been a friend of Mrs Cox, Blomfield's mother-in-law, who, being dissatisfied with Blomfield's conduct of certain financial affairs, had confided in and sought advice from the Archdeacon. Blomfield said that he visited Reibey at "Entally" on 14 July 1868 on behalf of his wife; Blomfield had then accused Reibey of the attempted rape. Blomfield, in an effort to "exculpate his wife's reputation", maintained that Reibey had agreed to resign the Archdeaconry and to leave the country.²¹ Such resignation and promise of departure had been made when Blomfield visited Reibey on 14 July 1868. Blomfield accepted this as satisfaction. However, Reibey made no arrangements to depart from Tasmania. Blomfield objected and said he would make the scandal public. Reibey denied knowledge of any arrangement made with Blomfield. In fact, he had offered to resign the Archdeaconry in a letter dated the day before Blomfield's alleged visit to "Entally".

"The poisonous voice of the slanderer" grew louder. Insinuations were bandied about. Clergy and people took sides. "Parliamentary family groups", which took the place of political parties, ranged themselves ac-

21. Launceston Examiner, 2 June 1870.

according to their interests if not their moral convictions. "To Reibey's admirers he became a sainted victim; to his detractors a hypocritical 'squire of dames'.²²"

Towards the end of 1869, Hales, who was Incumbent of Holy Trinity, wrote to the Bishop and to Reibey about the rumour. Bromby interviewed Reibey. Blomfield called on the Bishop, demanding the "promised" resignation. After writing to Bromby, Hales called together some of the clergy to hear the correspondence and, if they thought fit, to urge the Bishop to a further investigation of the charge. In the correspondence, Bromby maintained that the accusers could only act under the 1859 Church discipline Act. As they had not done so, Bromby thought it his duty, both to Reibey and to the Church, to appoint a private Commission

"to set the public mind at rest by pronouncing that there is no prime facie evidence which would justify approaching the Church Advocate to issue Articles of Accusation".

Bromby hoped too, that the result of such an enquiry would provide him with replies for any questions which might be raised in Synod. He suggested that both Browne and Hales should be on the Commission. The Bishop sought Reibey's advice on this matter and also on whether, after all, he should accept his resignation of the archdeaconry. Reibey declined on both points. He demanded that any movement must be made in strict accord with the Law of Synod. Bromby accepted this reply as "perfectly consistent with the Archdeacon's own dignity". The Bishop himself, under the terms of the 1859 Act, could move the Church Advocate to exhibit Articles of Accusation;

22. F. C. Green (ed.), op cit, p 146.

but, he was not prepared to do so in the absence of any direct charge.

Bromby wrote:

"Eighteen months have slipped by since the alleged scandal occurred, a scandal the very nature of which indeed has never been stated to me. If Mr. Blomfield does not desire to become Prosecutor, or to lay a formal complaint before me, the matter, as far as I can judge from the Act, must rest."²³

The Bishop could not forget the great services Reibey had rendered the Church. He refused to outweigh these by an imaginary injury that might accrue from unsubstantiated rumours. Bromby believed Reibey himself to be the best judge how far it was due to himself to institute proceedings against the propagation of the reports. Reibey had pleaded innocent; Bromby wished to protect him. Hales believed that the clergy whose counsel he had sought would not be satisfied with Bromby's attitude. Hales discussed the Bishop's letters with Blomfield. Blomfield accused Reibey of falsehood in his interviews with the Bishop. Hales, therefore, decided²⁴ to bring up the matter as a "question" at the next Synod.

Bromby was trying to avoid using a Court which he knew would be unworkable. He wanted to prevent a possible appeal from Church court to civil court. Moreover, Bromby felt more disposed to act as a Father-in-God to a clergyman than as judge or administrator in a Court. Bromby's predicament, as well as his keen pastoral sense, is shown in his letter to Reibey of 17 January 1870. Bromby was trying to act as friendly Bishop and wise mediator. He wrote:

"You must see, my friend, that no other course is open to me than that of reconciliation which I am trying to follow.

23. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Hales, 17 January 1870.

24. Reibey Papers, Hales/Bromby, 19 January 1870.

I could not proceed under the Church Discipline Act, because you gave me your most positive assertion that there was no real foundation for what I assume to be the gist of the alleged misdemeanour. On the other hand, a certain modicum of admission on your part due to your sheer honesty took from me the opportunity of defying the accuser. I have therefore, adopted a via media and suggest one of two courses. My opinion of your determination in regard to them I have expressed in rather cold language in my letter to Hales. I am most deeply concerned by the pain that has been occasioned to Mrs. Reibey. The Governor has informed me that you proposed to leave Government House at the beginning of the week. I have received from you no communication since our interview. Do contact me. I have been exceedingly anxious throughout to act a friendly part to a disinterested dignitary of the Church consistently with our duty to the Church for whose good alone we hold our respective offices."

Bromby tried to dissuade Hales from bringing the matter before Synod. He told Hales that the result would be a wider, perhaps nation-wide, publication of the scandal, which would be injurious to the character of a Church officer against whom no legitimate charge had been made.²⁵ "We have already passed an Act for the trial of ecclesiastical offences," he said, "and all that Synod can do is point you to that Act."

Hales declared that he did not deem it his duty "in any fashion to become an accuser." Nor did he want the author of the charge to do anything, or to become an accuser, or to ask Bromby to take the initiative in that matter. He maintained that he had simply asked Reibey to relieve the Church of a great scandal and, on his refusal, had asked the Bishop to do so, sending a letter from the author which stated a willingness to give

26
any information required. Under the circumstances, Bromby could take no other attitude than he had done. Yet his opponents continued to impute blame to him, when they themselves refused to take action prescribed by law. They continued, too, to demand that Reibey should meet "the charge". Yet no definite charge, in the legal sense, had been made.

As neither Bromby nor Reibey would move in the matter, Hales decided to ignore advice not to place the correspondence before Synod.

Hales wrote:

"Synod is the last Ecclesiastical authority, but not the last absolutely. Beyond, lies public opinion. If the Archdeacon suffers, it will be his own fault for not meeting the charge; but a worse evil would be to allow the public to suppose that the moral reputation of a clergyman was of no consequence, provided it is not talked about in the public papers."²⁷

Hales would not concur in Bromby's attempts to interpret the Act. If the Act had allowed Bromby more freedom in discretionary power, Hales himself could have become a good candidate for prosecution. Obviously, Hales was trying to increase his support amongst clergy and people. With Browne in retirement, Brownrigg concentrating on St John's, and Reibey resigned, the Archdeaconry of Launceston, he hoped, could be as well centred on Holy Trinity as St John's. Hales was Incumbent of Holy Trinity. However, Hales was careful to give his intentions an altruistic appearance. He wrote that the Church ought not "quietly to submit to disgrace," because the Archdeacon would take no steps to silence Mr. Blomfield, or because Mr. Blomfield should decline, if he Reibey^{did} so, to take the course prescribed

26. Reibey Papers, Hales/Bromby, 24 January 1870.

27. *ibid*, Hales/Bromby, 24 January 1870.

X will be the basis for this statement.

by Synod. Mrs Reibey warned the Bishop of Hales' "malicious productions" and "the envious spirit which has actuated him throughout the whole business".²⁸ Hales then acted unexpectedly. He submitted to episcopal authority. He said, "If the Bishop requests it, I will not bring the matter before Synod."

But Blomfield did. He had already prepared a petition "to cause an investigation to take place of the conduct of Thomas Reibey, as well for the welfare of the Church as for the satisfaction of the petition". Blomfield requested Mr. A. Clerke, Synodsmen from Longford, to present the petition when Synod met in Launceston on 22-26 February 1870. The fateful day came round. Hales announced his intention to bring in a Bill to amend the Act for the Trial of Ecclesiastical Offences. Then Blomfield's petition was presented; but Synod declined to receive it. Clerke was a friend of the Reibey family. He supposed Hales to be a partner in Blomfield's petition. He thought Hales' proposed bill would contain the essence of the rejected petition. Therefore, he challenged Hales' right to a place in Synod. Irwin secured Hales' place in Synod. Hales, after hearing explanatory statements by Bromby and Reibey, withdrew the Bill to amend the Church Discipline Act. After Synod's formal business, Bromby made a statement in Synod on the whole Reibey affair. Why Bromby did this is not clear. One feels he was engineering civil action to avoid Church action. Certainly, silence would have been the more charitable course. Reibey himself was distressed. He thought his Bishop had deserted him.

28. ibid, Mrs Reibey/Bromby, 15 January 1870.

It was reported that the Synod did all that it could to remedy the mistakes made by partisans on both sides.²⁹ It secured for Hales his place in Synod, but it was less successful in safeguarding Reibey's reputation. Having been compelled, against its will, to listen to the "material allegations" of the petition, even while it refused to receive the petition itself, it was resolved, on Irwin's motion, that the Press be requested not to publish details. The Cornwall Chronicle co-operated. The Examiner and the Mercury published everything, and attempted to justify their action. Bromby's prophecy was fulfilled; news of the "scandal" began to spread. Yet the Bishop himself had provided the impetus. *reference*

Alarmed, Bromby again offered Blomfield all the advice and assistance in his power; but he admitted his restrictions, re-iterated his dissatisfaction with the diocesan legal arrangements for dealing with ecclesiastical discipline. He said:

"The more I consider the difficulties incidental to a Court enquiry, the more formidable they appear."³⁰

Further, the possibility of Bromby being able to appoint a Committee of Investigation, composed of persons acceptable to Blomfield, had been taken from Bromby by Blomfield himself. Such Episcopal intervention had become impossible once Clerke had presented Blomfield's petition. In doing so, Clerke had thrust a judicial question upon Synod.

Bromby assumed once more the role of Father-in-God. He sought to placate Blomfield by underlining Mrs Blomfield's integrity. Bromby assured

29. C.N., March 1870.

30. Reibey papers; Bromby/Blomfield, 24 February 1870.

Blomfield that, however incapable of the charge Reibey's friends considered him to be, no breath of suspicion in any-one's mind had touched the honour and reputation of Mrs Blomfield. The Bishop suggested privately to Reibey that he, Reibey, should give Blomfield a written exculpation of his wife. However, Blomfield would not let the sun go down on his wrath. His burning desire was to denounce and cripple Reibey. Mrs Blomfield was but incidental to the affair. Blomfield did not aim to clear her character, for "she has always been above suspicion". He sought only to ascertain "what was the conduct and what is the true character of Reverend Thomas Reibey",³¹ and this for the good of the Church.

Reibey accused Bromby of "designedly betraying confidential communications", and of inaccurately reporting details of his interview in December 1869. He further accused Bromby of "abandoning him", by remarks made after the formal business of Synod. Mr Du Cane, who was Governor at the time, was a loyal friend of Reibey. Bromby had said that if he were the Governor representing the Colony, he should never think of standing aloof from Reibey or "Entally", until the charge was proved. However, as Bishop, he felt it due to some of the clergy, who thought Reibey should initiate some proceedings at law, that he should suspend personal interview until Reibey had done so. Bromby added that the moment Reibey overcame his hesitation to initiate proceedings at law, he would have no more objection to visit³² Entally than the Governor. Numerous clergy cut relationships with Reibey.

31. Reibey Papers, Blomfield/Bromby, 25 February 1870.

32. D.S.T., 1870.

Some declined his ministrations as their Archdeacon. Reibey's position became untenable. Bromby was obviously engineering a settlement outside the Church's jurisdiction. He was safeguarding his own position. He doubted Reibey's integrity; he was confused by conflicting statements; he had no way of assessing rumours. Surely, before a Civil Court, right could prevail. If Reibey's position had become untenable, Bromby had helped to make it so.

Upon the private advice of Captain E. Dumaresq, Reibey's friend from Bishopsbourne, and of Governor Du Cane himself, Reibey decided not to tender his resignation again nor to appeal to an incompetent Church Court. He would take out a libel action against Blomfield, claiming damages at £1,000. The case was tried at the beginning of June 1870 at the Launceston sitting of the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice, Sir Francis Smith, presided. After a trial of four days, the jury decided for Blomfield. The announcement was received in court by a loud outburst of cheering. Clearly the interest was not in Blomfield's success, but in Reibey's failure. Tasmania proved itself a place where "scandal indeed flourished". Bromby did little to vindicate his archdeacon. Bromby's presence in Court was obviously distasteful to himself and unsatisfactory to the Chief Justice. The reactions of Blomfield and Hales to the verdict are not recorded. Some sections of the Press revelled in the announcement of Reibey's guilt; but a section still strongly supported Reibey. Reibey straightway resigned as Archdeacon of Launceston. However, he remained a priest of the Church of England. Soon after the trial, he went to England. He bore a largely-signed Address which prayed that, on his return, he would resume his pastoral work in Tasmania.

Bromby's reputation suffered as a result of the "Reibey Affair"; but criticisms were generally unfair. For example, he did keep more confidences than he was said to have betrayed. The Press reported that it was too much to expect any decisive course from Bromby. He was incapable of dismissing Reibey. "Nature never intended that Bromby should rule. He never sees a right or a wrong, a true or a false. His habit of mind is to evade the responsibility of being anything, lest it should impose the obligation upon him of doing anything decidedly." ³³ Bromby knew what newspaper editors did not know. He had no power to dismiss Reibey, either by the terms of the 1859 Act or by his Letters Patent. He chose to act the only part open to him, of a Father-in-God. Bromby's reluctance to tell confidences was misinterpreted as weakness, even by the judge. Bromby spoke as a Bishop, aware of his limitations in an age of transition. Bromby anticipated what the letter of the law could mean to the Church; the Chief Justice saw what it did mean to the human beings before him.

Even the Cornwall Chronicle, which had earlier objected strongly to the authoritarianism of Nixon and had given much encouragement to Bromby, now announced that much blame should be placed on Bromby. The Bishop was accused of not having taken at once a high and firm stand. If he had done so "the Church would have been spared a scandal, and public decency would not have been outraged." Bromby did his best to explain his position. He maintained that the part he had to take had been misunderstood. He had had no opportunity to refute statements made in the trial. As for the Archdeacon's res-

33. Launceston Times, 9 June 1870.

ignation and its subsequent recall, this had happened eighteen months before any rumour of scandal had reached Bromby. He objected to accusations of "reticence" made by the Chief-Justice. He argued that he was not reticent, but rather reluctant to give up any confidential statement unless "the paramount claims of justice demanded it". Also, Bromby objected to the Attorney-General's complaint that the Bishop had indulged in "vacillation and delay" until the session of Synod when the petition was presented. Once more Bromby pointed out that he had no power to prosecute, as Bishop. Such power rested with the Judge Advocate. *refuse to?*

The Bishop complained in the Press of the ineffectiveness of the provisions made for the conduct of the Church court. He declaimed that no tribunal was competent to deal with so intricate a case except one with power to compel witnesses, not only to attend, but to give evidence. This was why he had never encouraged an appeal to the improperly constituted Church Court. Reibey had only two courses open to him: either to become plaintiff in a civil court or to resign his office. The Bishop's knowledge of Reibey's character had convinced him that whatever the issues of the trial, he would refuse to retain the archdeaconry. Reibey had, without any difficulty "ecclesiastical processes" and without a day's delay, placed his resignation in Bromby's hands.

Clerical Discipline: The Aftermath of the Reibey Case, and the Act of 1872

Bromby tried to administer discipline in accordance with the provisions of Church Discipline Act of 1859. For doing this, he was criticised.

The Bishop could not be held responsible for the provisions of an Act which he had inherited from the first episcopate. Nor did he hold responsibility for the state of the Church which brought forth the Act. Any advice he had given was strictly in accord with the will of the Church as expressed in Synod. A Churchman could apply to the Bishop in either his pastoral or his administrative and judicial capacity. If he applied to the Bishop as pastor, the clergyman's part then ended. But if he applied to the Bishop as administrator or judge, this pre-supposed a competent and acceptable legal procedure available for the Bishop to put into action. In Tasmania, the legal procedure was that which was countenanced by Synod. But in 1870, the legal machinery was inappropriate to episcopal judgment. Yet, if the Bishop ignored it, he would be deemed autocratic; and it had been Synod's intention to dispel such episcopal autocracy.

Bromby had been placed in a false position in relation to Church discipline. The Bishop's power had been curtailed by an Act of Synod. Yet the public, the Press, individual Churchmen and even members of Synod, who should have known better, continued to expect the Bishop to perform acts of "a most desperate character". Bromby maintained that a Church Discipline Act should aim simply at directing or helping the Bishop in all matters of discipline. Moreover, people should be told that, as the Act stood, the Bishop was not vested with autocratic powers. Nor would he want to be. Bromby sought an Act of encouragement, whereby the Bishop might be persuaded to deal constitutionally with rumours affecting clergymen's characters, disputes between clergy and parishioners, and heretical doctrines held and/or

preached.

Others supported Bromby in his plea for a revised Act. At the special meeting of Synod called for 12 September 1870, Archdeacon R. R. Davies, of Hobart, took the first step towards reform. He had it passed that expenses incidental to proceedings which the Bishop might think it necessary to take under the Church Discipline Act should be defrayed by the Finance Committee of the Archdeaconry within which the proceedings might take place. Point was given to the urgent need for reform when Rev. W. Richardson, of Avoca, complained of defamatory rumours. Richardson sought a Commission and, if necessary, Church Court proceedings. The Commission was called, but lack of finances curtailed the trial. Richardson left Avoca, and the Cure was vacant for some months. The 1871 Synod appointed a Select Committee to consider how the existing law of the Church for the Trial of Ecclesiastical Offences could be amended. This Committee, known as the Ecclesiastical Offences' Committee, consisted of: Rev. F. H. Cox, of St David's Hobart; Rev. A. Davenport of Holy Trinity, Hobart; Rev. H. O. Irwin, Hagley; Rev. F. Hales, of Holy Trinity, Launceston; Rev. H. B. Bromby, of St John Baptist, Hobart; Mr. W. Tarleton, of All Saints, Hobart; Mr. T. Stephens, of Cressy; and Mr. C. Butler, of St George's, Hobart. In February 1872, Davenport brought up the Committee's report which was received by Synod and ordered to be printed. Davenport then brought in a Bill to amend the existing law. Synod passed the Bill without dissent. This Act, covering Church discipline, was an Act of the Synod of the Diocese of Tasmania.

The new Act (No. 1, 1872) was an Act for the Trial of Ecclesiastical

Offences. It was known as: the "Ecclesiastical Offences' Act". The Act aimed to safeguard episcopal functions. Its provisions were as follows: The Church Advocate was to be appointed by Synod. Any action or conduct contrary to sound morals, or to any of the obligations undertaken by Priests and Deacons at their Ordination, were to be triable. A complainant was required to send signed declarations of complaints to the Bishop, not the Church Advocate. The Bishop could also himself become Prosecutor. A Clergyman could choose the Bishop's pronouncement rather than that of a Court. If the charge were denied, the Bishop could appoint a Commission of Enquiry, if the clergyman so desired. Otherwise, the clergyman could elect direct trial by a Church Court. If a Commission were chosen, the Bishop could pronounce sentence, upon receiving the Commission's written report of the accused's guilt. In the event of a direct trial being chosen, the Bishop had to arrange for the Church Advocate to issue Articles of Accusation. The President of the Court was the Bishop's own chosen Commissary, who sat with four Assessors: two Clergymen and two Laymen of the Synod. The assessors were chosen by lot from the eight Clergymen and eight Laymen elected by Synod for each Archdeaconry. The Church Court was to be public, unless the Commissary, on the ground of public morals, found it expedient to exclude the public. Further, the Court was to suggest the penalty which the Bishop could decrease but not increase. The Bishop and Church Advocate were empowered to make or repeal the Rules and Orders governing the conduct of the Court, and provisions were made for fresh trials and fresh Commissions of enquiry. Appeals could be made to a Court established by General Synod,

provided always that the constitution of such a Court had been approved by the Diocesan Synod of Tasmania. The Commissioners or the Court were to decide on costs. If the accused or the Complainants failed to pay, Synod was to make rules for payment. Full costs were not to exceed fifty pounds. No provision was made for compelling witnesses to sign statements.³⁵ The Bishop declared himself satisfied with the new Act, save for the lack of a provision to compel witnesses to testify.

At the same Synod, it was resolved to establish a Fund to cover expenses incurred under the "Ecclesiastical Offences Act". Every parish was to contribute five shillings annually for each Lay Representative returned to the Synod. In the 1873 Synod, it was further resolved that the payments should be enforced in the same way as the payment of the dues for Synod expenses, but without any additional fine.

About the same time as the new disciplinary laws became effective, Reibey returned from England and commenced a political career. He entered the House of Assembly in 1874, "on a strong breeze of popularity generated by stories of his victimisation". Within a year, he was Leader of the Opposition and, for a short time in 1876, he was Premier. Reibey's ministry included Charles Hamilton Bromby, the Bishop's son, who was the Attorney-General. Reibey was Speaker in the Ninth Parliament (1886-1891), and Minister without Office in the Braddon Government (1894-99). He remained in Parliament until after Federation. Reibey remained a keen supporter of the Church of England in Tasmania, but he never again made public utterances on Church policy. He remained a friend of the Bishop.

As a result of the 1872 "Ecclesiastical Offences' Act," Bromby enhanced his own relations with his clergy. Many clergy came to their Bishop for guidance and advice. Bromby did not have to use in Court the legal powers he had ostensibly won. Several cases stopped short of the Church Court, due to the wisdom of the Bishop in the exercise of his new "prerogative".

However, many laymen objected to the new Ecclesiastical Discipline Act. Valentine called it an "Act for the Better Protection of Ecclesiastical Offenders"³⁶. He was suspicious of the new, close relationship which the Act had wrought between the Bishop and many of his clergy. He thought the Act would allow the Bishop to acquiesce in words or actions likely to offend against Reformation principles embodied in legitimate formularies of the Church of England. Valentine regarded the Bishop as neither willing nor competent to administer justice in doctrinal disputes. Bromby's own doctrinal convictions, thought Valentine, were too illusive; he had assumed what appeared to be a see-saw, vacillating theological position since his arrival in Tasmania in 1865. "Disestablishment" was not all that was needed in Tasmania. The Tasmanian Church must hold rigidly to Protestant principles. It must not be encumbered by Tractarianism or Ritualism which were plaguing the Church in England. The Bishop was accused of denying in Tasmania the principles of Protestant reform.

36. Mercury, 7 December 1872.

II: CHURCH THOUGHT

In England, the period 1865:1872 saw a further widening of the ecclesiastical front. A broad Ritualistic onslaught followed the spear-head of the Oxford movement. Yet the Law was the sun that stood still; it gave neither encouragement nor hope to the champions of Ritualism. Rather, it supported the guardians of Reformation principles. If Churchmen dared to preach pre-Reformation doctrines and to add external practices to the English liturgy, the Privy Council frustrated, yet whetted, their cause. Between 1864 and 1872, judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council³⁷ declared against "novelties" in word or action in matters doctrinal.

The use of incense, lighted candles, eucharistic vestments and the "eastward position" were all adjudged illegal. By implication, so-called "Romanizing tendencies" were to cease in the Church of England. In Tasmania, clergy added the new Ritualism to Nixon's rejected yet continuing Tractarianism. Laymen claimed the Privy Council judgments as their stay. Yet, although the Tasmanian Synod eventually ruled that the Privy Council judgments should be binding on the Tasmanian Church, both Bishop and Church Court were loath to implement them. In Tasmania, a ritualistic war was fought against a confused background of ignorance and enlightenment.

37. W. G. Brooke (ed.), Six Judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Ecclesiastical Cases. (Lond., 1872.), pp 81-248.

Relevant Cases:

Williams	v	Bishop of Salisbury
Wilson	v	Fendall
Martin	v	Mackonochie
Hebbert	v	Purchas
Sheppard	v	Bennett

Bromby had brought from England a peculiar theological outlook. He had retained from Hull and Cheltenham experience a predilection to an ecumenical and comprehensive form of churchmanship. Bromby had become tolerant of the free enquiry and free expression which were characteristics of the age. He had continued to abhor "the bigotry of petty views" which seemed to retard both political progress and ecclesiastical enlightenment.

38

In an apologia, Bromby maintained that the spirit of toleration was little understood even in the nineteenth century. "Surely it was possible to hold Evangelical views," he said, "without being bound to a party." The Bishop's views upon the two Sacraments of the Church were those held by the early Evangelicals rather than those of their "nominal followers". He continued:

"We believe that the Bishop's friends at home used to rank him with the Broad Church and that not so much as indicating attachment to the party often so-called, but because of his breadth of sympathy and width of toleration..... A Bishop should be the Bishop not of one party, but of the whole Church.....Bishops are judges and cannot be expected to be partisans."

Bromby dreamed of an ecumenical Church of the future when divers ecclesiastical and political doctrines might be caught up and expressed as one. He pleaded tolerance and comprehensiveness.

39

Tractarians imported by Nixon were concerned more with matters of doctrine than with vestments or ritual; but, for the most part, they had ac-

38. Bp's Letter Book.

39. Contemporary Review, quoted Mercury, 21 March 1872,

3 April 1872.

customed themselves to Tasmanian ways and Tasmanian churchmanship. They taught, but did not try to force, Tractarian doctrines. Some, like F. H. Cox, assumed a broad and mediative doctrinal position which was acceptable to all save extremists. Such men were satisfied with Bromby's early pronouncements:

"We stand in danger of subtracting from the wholeness of churchmanship, either from limited views, or limited capacities, or the limiting influences of the love of party.....To love the truth requires truthfulness of heart, wider than the horizon of petty views, stronger than the forces of party love....."⁴⁰

"In our character as Protestants we must not subtract in one direction from fear of superstitious additions in another. Mariolatry must not lead us to hold back the honour due to purity and to her who was 'blessed among women'. The undue exaltation of the Sacraments must not for a moment allow us to deny to those visible forms of His own appointment the invisible grace He has connected with them. The bugbear of an opus operatum in holy baptism need not degrade that sacrament to the Zwinglean notion of a bare and meaningless sign. The dread of trans-substantiation should not rob the other sacrament of all its sacramental character."⁴¹

So long as outward signs and lineaments of Church services remained traditional and unchanged, none save the querulous objected to pulpit utterances; but, as soon as clergymen began to obtrude novel external practices upon the services, extreme Protestants among clergy and laymen alike united in vociferous protest. In such a situation, Bromby was powerless to conciliate. The Bishop was skilled as a verbal mediator in doctrinal theory; but ritualism issued as a practical affair, and Bromby's diocesan policy of toleration prevented him from acting prohibitively, and subjected him to both criticism and ridicule.

40. Launceston Times, 10 March 1865.

41. ibid.

When the Bishop arrived in Tasmania, he appointed his chaplain, Henry Bodley Bromby, assistant curate to Davies at St David's in Hobart. The younger Bromby had been educated at Cheltenham College. In 1860, he went up to Jesus College, Cambridge, as a Rustat scholar. There was a strong high-Church party in Jesus which opened its doors to students from other colleges. They joined the English Church Union and the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom. They tried to improve the Chapel services. H. B. Bromby graduated in 1863. In 1864, he was made Deacon at Cuddesdon by Bishop S. Wilberforce. He became curate to his father at St Paul's Cheltenham. The younger Bromby was

"of a captivating appearance, hair and beard a gold brown, a pleasant manner, rather deep-voiced. He was full of humour, of a sort peculiarly his own. On visiting him you were apt to find him on his back on his sofa in company with his pipe and Tennyson. He was very fond of Poetry and Art in all its fields. His Tennyson was especially his delight....."42

At St David's, the younger Bromby tried immediately to "improve the appearance of the Church and the acts of devotion". He ignored the gentle reprimands of Davies, his venerable overseer. He alarmed W. H. Browne, of St John's Launceston, who knew the Tasmanian outlook and prophesied spirited objections. However, the younger Bromby thought his superiors backward and out-of-touch. He saw himself as a timely missionary of the high-Church cause in a stagnant low-Church land. On Trinity Sunday, 11 June 1865, the younger Bromby was ordained priest by his father in St David's Cathedral. Father and son had planned the service, with little reference to Davies.

The younger Bromby wrote:

"I was the only candidate. Though this made the service rather a trying one for me in some ways, yet it perhaps made it more impressive for the large congregation assembled.....The "Venie Creator" was sung for the first time to the tune from 'Hymns Ancient and Modern'.....They did not manage it very well..... The Bishop intoned for the first time very well on one note..... I hope it is not his last attempt, as I think there is some chance of our having the whole service intoned before very long at St David's....."43

Although many young people of the upper class were early attracted to St David's by the younger Bromby's handsome person, charming manners and personal ritualistic adornments,⁴⁴ Protestant rumbles were soon heard. If the young priest's innovations appealed at St David's where Vandemonian "Society" gathered, and where the Bishop had his seat, they incurred nothing but wrath in rural centres. Campbell Town provided one example. St Luke's Church had been without a clergyman for some time. An elderly parishioner had but recently endowed the Cure. The Bishop had brought Kenneth William Kirkland out from England to fill it. For a few months, Kirkland had been working Campbell Town as Deacon-in-Charge. The parish contained a most determined and earnest clique of Low Churchmen headed by Valentine, the local medical practitioner. Valentine and his party watched Kirkland during the short time he had been in Campbell Town. They suspected him of "popery". Kirkland turned his back on them at the Altar; he turned to the east at the Creed. Valentine urged Kirkland to give up these practices and to comply

43. ibid, p 23 et seq.

44. Mrs. J. A. McElroy, "An Evangelical Remembers": Paper read before the Church of England League, Tasmania, November 1940.



Rev. Henry Bodley Bromby, B.A.,

1874.

with the Prayer Book rubrics. Kirkland refused to surrender his liberty of interpretation. Valentine appealed to the Bishop.

Valentine was even more disturbed when arrangements were made for an ordination service to be held at St Luke's Church on 21 December 1865. Kirkland was to be ordained priest and Richard Smith and Henry Adams were to be made deacons. The Bishop wanted a country parish church to witness an ordination service; the younger Bromby wanted to introduce the new form of service into country areas. The Bishop put the arrangements in his chaplain's hands. Valentine objected on the grounds that the Trinity Sunday ordination at St David's had introduced unwarranted innovations. However, the younger Bromby, with full episcopal connivance, made preliminary arrangements and, on ordination day, took over the management of the church and the services. He decorated the church with "a simple floral reredos, cross and text". The services were to include a procession, processional hymns and intoning. The Puritans became alarmed. They said that they would protest publicly in service time. A hot and irritated deputation waited on the Bishop and his son. The Bishop requested the younger Bromby to remove the floral cross. This seemed to satisfy the deputation. However, the younger Bromby acted somewhat arrogantly. Later on, he wrote:

"Vested in cassock, I stalked calmly into the chancel, armed with a huge knife. And, before the whole congregation, I removed the cross - leaving all the rest."⁴⁵

All went to plan until the Bishop asked the usual questions about impediments to ordination....."when out steps Dr. Valentine: 'I am obliged to object, my Lord, to Mr. Kirkland's ordination - he openly violates

45. J. H. B. Mace, op cit, p 26.

the rubrics at that Table.¹ Dr. Valentine then pointed to the reredos⁴⁶ and characterised it as 'Popish mummary'. The Bishop did not proceed. In a few dignified words he rebuked the interrupter, ending with the stern words, "Upon yourself rest the sin if there be sin." Kirkland was delicate and fragile. "His face quivered and worked," wrote the younger Bromby, "his hands shook, and I thought from his deadly paleness that he would have had some dreadful attack.....(His wife) wept quietly and sadly the whole service through."⁴⁷ We have seen how, after discussions between Bromby, Kirkland and Valentine, Kirkland was ordained in St David's Cathedral, Hobart the following February. He went back to Campbell Town as Incumbent. He died there on 2 October 1866. Kirkland was only twenty-seven. He had come to Tasmania barely a year before to serve the Colonial Church, Kirkland was the first victim of Tasmania's Ritualistic War.

Meanwhile, the spirit of scepticism had reached Tasmania. As early as 1863,⁴⁸ the Church News had provided leading articles entitled "Colenso and the Pentateuch". F. H. Cox, who was editor, maintained that nothing but good could come from impartial discussion and free enquiry. A spate of letters from clerical and lay readers objected to the line he had taken. W. H. Browne, the Chaplain at Launceston wrote:

"You thought proper in the last 'Church News' to draw attention, in no very disparaging terms, to Bishop Colenso's mischievous attack on the Bible. It was

46. ibid.

47. ibid.

48. C.N., February 1863, March 1863.

indeed a good advertisement for the booksellers, and a stimulant to the morbid appetite of men in the present day for doubtful disputation."

49

Browne was joined in protest by G. Banks Smith in the South and A. Stackhouse in the North. The anti-Colenso faction were emphatically "low." Correspondence for two years, until the Privy Council judgment on the Colenso Cases was known, shows clearly that the majority of Tasmanian churchmen were as conservative in biblical interpretation as in their approach to worship. Cox represented that group of churchmen, of whom the Bishop was one, who could welcome free enquiry yet remain conservative in outward expression. He regarded Ritualism as a "novelty of the age" which would soon pass. He said:

"We cannot seriously think that the extreme ritual school will gain much standing-ground for itself, or will it ever trouble the real heart of the people of England. It seems to us to be proceeding upon a fundamental mistake. A ceremonial which would have been impressive in the days of Augustine or Lanfranc, or which might do a useful work, even now, among the half-civilized people of Honolulu, cannot surely influence (except in the way of irritation) Englishmen in the nineteenth century.

....."50

However, the state of the Church in England and its effects upon the colonial daughters caused Cox concern. He declaimed that "things can hardly go on as they are much longer." The "happy family" theory had its limits. Colenso and Church autocracy, the "free handling" of the Bible and the exaggeration of the ritual of the Prayer-Book, could hardly work together in perpetuity within the bounds of the existing Church organisation, even the most elastic. The split in the Church of England in Britain must have ill effects in the

49. C.N., March 1863.

50. C.N., February 1865.

51
colonies. A split was soon apparent in St David's Cathedral, Hobart.

When Davies resigned the incumbency of St David's, Hobart, in 1866, Cox moved there from St John Baptist's, Hobart. He had just withdrawn his acceptance of the nomination to the Bishopric of Martitzburg. Bishop Bromby thought that to appoint him to St David's "would retain for Tasmania his wise, balanced and devoted ministry". Although Cox had been willing, even anxious, to leave St John Baptist's where animosity existed between rich and poor and the "ignorant" and the "enlightened", he was soon faced with greater difficulties at St David's. Ecclesiastical class distinctions were even more marked there. Moreover, the younger Bromby's ritualistic innovations irked him. Cox felt inhibited. The Bishop's son was neither tactful in his preaching nor loyal to his superior. The two men did not work well together. The younger Bromby, though barely twenty-six years old, began to complain. He said:

"Cox is a man of much distinction, a good preacher, a priest of deep earnestness and self-sacrificing life; but he goes off on the Broad line.....I am much grieved by some of the things the Vicar has thought it his duty to do." 52

Following the arousal of interest in Colenso's "heresy", a series of special services and lectures were held in the Hobart theatre. They were conducted by ministers of various Protestant denominations. Cox had been drawn into the movement; he gave the inaugural address. The theatre was crammed with working people. "I cannot conscientiously join with him," wrote the younger Bromby, "nor do I see how any priest of the Church can do

51. C.N., October, 1865.

52. J.H.B. Mace, op cit, p.13, p.45.

so.....the whole thing gives me much grief.....the working class are beginning to fear my ritual." The working class, who responded to Cox, were not welcomed by the St David's parishioners who supported Bromby. The younger Bromby decided to resign, with the Bishop's consent. However, as Cox was contemplating taking leave in England, he counselled Bromby to stay. He did stay, but with no new desire to co-operate.

On 6 February 1868, Cox himself tendered his resignation. In his reply to Cox, dated 7 February 1868, the Bishop showed himself naive in the extreme. It seems incredible that one who counselled everywhere tolerance and broadmindedness, particularly in matters of churchmanship, could have allowed paternal devotion to blind him to his own son's blatant attempts to create partisanship. The Bishop wrote:

"I am equally at a loss to understand both the motives that led to your action, and how you build your opinion that I should gladly accept your resignation. I am unwilling to ask for the reasons which you tell me will cause you pain to render; but I should naturally wish to know whether they are connected with your relationship to myself.....When I offered to provide for your absence for a year I did so under the impression that your difficulties were the creation of a glossy condition of mind, which would rapidly recover its tone amidst congenial society at home. Pray let me have a little light....."53

Cox rescinded his resignation. He could not tell the Bishop that "the most unhappy year" he had spent at St David's was caused by the innovations and attitude of the younger Bromby. Many of the parishioners shared Cox's views. When Cox ultimately left Tasmania in 1874, it was because of his inability to work for a Bishop who was so greatly influenced by an

53. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Cox, 7 February 1868.

ambitious son. It was Tasmania which was the loser in this part of the Ritualistic War.

Meanwhile, J. T. Gellibrand, who had been appointed to St John Baptist's in succession to F. N. Cox, had fallen out with the parishioners there as Cox had done before him. Like his predecessor, he was an ardent supporter of the working class, and he objected to closed pews. He resigned after a year's service. Cox made Gellibrand's resignation the subject of one of his leading articles.⁵⁴ He called Gellibrand a man of "guileless sincerity and most unselfish kindness". He criticised Gellibrand's opponents. He advocated the abolition of pew rents and the opening of all pews to the working classes. The poorer classes presented Gellibrand with a Testimonial. Later on, Gellibrand himself gave £250 to the funds for the new cathedral on the understanding that "the new church would be free and open". The Bishop appointed the younger Bromby to succeed Gellibrand at St John Baptist. Things settled down at St David's. Cox did not take his leave of absence until 1870, and did not resign from St David's until late in 1873. When the younger Bromby went to St John Baptist's and had his full say in the conduct of services he aroused great opposition from the working classes and from anti-Ritualists throughout the diocese.

In the North, Reibey worked effectively from Entally House near Hadspen. Not until 1868, when Browne resigned the incumbency of St John's, Launceston, did the northern clergy allow personal ambition and partisanship to cloud a comparatively united scene. We have seen how Reibey himself sought to combine the Archdeaconry with the incumbency of St John's, Launces-

54. C.N., May 1868.

ton, and how Hales objected. Ostensibly, Hales' objection was based on a belief that too much power should not be placed in one man's hands. Reibey gave his services freely, and this seemed to place him beyond directions and advice. However, Hales' own personal ambitions, later to issue in his appointment as Archdeacon of the North, must not be overlooked. Also, Hales was more in line with the Bishop's toleration of free enquiry. He fell in with the Bishop's plan to re-ordain and re-employ W. A. Brooke. Hales was not the only one to object to Reibey's plan of dualism. Stackhouse, of Longford, a strong Protestant who had been much opposed to Nixon's imposed churchmanship, objected on party grounds. Being a supporter of the low-church movement, he wanted to establish at St John's, Launceston, a centre for northern evangelical clergy. Browne feared that the Bishop might see fit to move the younger Bromby to Launceston, thereby spreading ritualism northwards and perhaps leading to the appointment of a second Bromby bishop in Tasmania. Browne therefore attempted to persuade his people to keep the power of patronage vested in a Board. The Bishop wrote:

"The inference most men would draw from your words and actions is that if your parishioners are asked to choose between a Board and the Bishop, you would counsel them to avoid the evil consequences of choosing the latter. If your words are called forth by a feeling that some of our clergy are introducing novel doctrines or practices, forbidden by the Church, it would be better surely to draw my attention to the fact than to drop seeds of suspicion, injurious it may be to the reputation of an innocent brother."⁵⁵

Although Browne counselled caution in making the appointment of his successor to St John's, because he obviously feared both the Bishop's 'non-party' policy and the younger Bromby's ritualistic intent, the Bishop

55. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Browne, 19 March 1868.

expressed surprise. He said that he was not aware of any charge of ritualism or novel, illegal practice "being at this moment justly laid at the door of any of our clergy". At the same time the Bishop said that "the respect in which Dr Browne is deservedly held may give to his words the power of mischief far beyond his intention, and contrary to it".⁵⁶ Ultimately, both Reibey's ambitions and the Bishop's plan for an easier administration of the diocese through his son's appointment to Launceston, were overcome. A Patronage Board, headed by Stackhouse, suggested the appointment of M. B. Brownrigg, recently appointed to Ross. Brownrigg went to St John's despite Reibey's strong opposition. The Bishop tried to hide his disappointment. Bromby told Stackhouse that "if I too had assured myself that the parish had required the nomination of such a man as Mr Brownrigg, I too would have passed over the great claims which the Archdeacon possesses".⁵⁷ Bromby announced that a man of Brownrigg's calibre was wanted at St John's, Launceston. "We have a 'via media' man in Mr Hales, and a reputed High Churchman in Mr Barkway (though I never witnessed any of the imitations of ritualiam which are blamed in his church). We want at least a make-weight in the appointment of an earnest evangelical preacher."⁵⁸ The Bishop was in a dilemma, a dilemma which issued in Reibey's animosity at the time of the Archdeacon's 'victimisation'. However, Bromby tried to be fair to all. He wrote Brownrigg that he hoped his appointment to St John's would

56. ibid.; for further information, Bromby v St John's Launceston: Parishioners on Patronage, see Bp's L.B., Bromby/Kane, 12 May 1868.

57. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Stackhouse, 6 July 1868.

58. ibid.

prove a "source of great blessing to the people of that parish and town". He declaimed that at "the present crisis" what was needed was a warm Evangelical exhibition of Christ's Gospel and a faithful standing by the principles of Apostolic order and discipline. The Bishop counselled Brownrigg to "win back those that have separated themselves, by gentle yet consistent⁵⁹ Churchmanship".

With Stackhouse's support, it was not long before Brownrigg was embarking on a strong evangelical ministry at St John's, Launceston. If, on the one hand, the younger Bromby was making his innovations felt at St David's and St John Baptist's, Hobart, on the other hand, it was hoped to make St John's the evangelical centre of the North and of the diocese. Changes were contemplated at St John's, both in the church and in the services. The Bishop was soon objecting to the proposed changes in the church. "Take no actual steps in the alterations projected in the Church," wrote the Bishop in September 1868; "I am sorry that it is proposed to block out the⁶⁰ Lord's Table by a central pulpit. However, I much commend your open pews". As far as services were concerned Brownrigg and Stackhouse wished uniformity between those practised at St John's, Launceston, and at St David's, Hobart. This was an attempt to modify the ritualistic trend in the South. Bromby agreed that it was "highly important to show that we have no extremes in the colony, and so much toleration, and so little of the schismatic and self-seeking, that we can use the same liturgies and the same hymn books". Bromby

59. Bp's L.B., Bromby/ Brownrigg, 7 July 1868.

60. Bp's L.B., Bromby/ Brownrigg, 24 September 1868.

remembered that W. H. Browne had aimed to shorten and condense some of the services along evangelical lines, and that 'high Churchmen' in the colony were advocating even then a prayer book revision in the opposite direction. Any authority to Brownrigg's proposal for a common hymn book would meet with opposition. This also applied to the common service book which Stackhouse and Brownrigg had compiled. Bromby said:

"As you have already moved in this matter, in order to secure the object of as much unanimity as possible, and to prevent any prejudice which may unfairly be felt against what proceeds from yourself, as a new arrival amongst us, I am anxious that your Service Book and Hymn Book should not go forth without Episcopal sanction, which may afterwards give it weight in the eyes of the Synod."⁶¹

The matter was never given episcopal sanction. Bromby, "in order to satisfy the clergy of St David's and elsewhere" made alterations of a conciliatory yet unsatisfactory nature. He consulted with his son. He referred Brownrigg's letter to Cox. He himself suggested numerous alterations, especially to the chosen hymns and psalms. Brownrigg said he would accept the alterations if the Bishop allowed asterisks to mark the episcopal insertions. To this Bromby objected, on the grounds that "the public in Tasmania might not understand that my motive was not to please myself, but to secure unanimity among the different sections of the Church - a principle which involves some concession on both sides"⁶². Bromby expressed the belief that if the promoters of the scheme were prepared to make concessions on the ground of the Church's comprehensiveness, nothing remained but that every-one should "have his psalm and doctrine". The book was never published. Bromby's evasive-

61. Bp's L.B., Bromby/ Brownrigg, 25 September 1868.

62. Bp's L.B., Bromby/ Brownrigg, 29 September 1868.

ness had stayed Evangelical progress.

The years 1865-1870 were years of growing suspicion. In 1865, Bromby found the diocese living under a tired peace. The 1866 Synod reported that the only discussion before it which "absolutely ended in nothing" was on the subject of Ritual and Church Vestments; a full House refused to allow interference with a liberty which "no Clergyman of our Church can seriously be said to have abused".⁶³ The years 1866 and 1867 saw an increase, in the Church News, of news and reviews of the Ritualistic movement in England, along with numerous discussions on biblical interpretation. The years 1868 and 1869 saw the younger Bromby's determined efforts to introduce Ritualism into St John Baptist's, Hobart, and the marshalling of opposition by clergy and laymen alike. Southern clerical opponents were J. T. Gellibrand, S. Parsons, W.W.F. Murray, J. Burrowes, E. Symonds and G. Banks Smith. In the North, M. Blake Brownrigg, A. Stackhouse and W. H. Browne led the anti-Ritualistic forces. A significant article appeared in the Church News in January 1869. It was a review of The Priests' Prayer Book (published London). The reviewer stated that it was "tinged with the peculiarities of the Ritualistic School (so-called) to which its compilers belong, and its use will consequently be very much confined to the ministrations of clergy who desire the revival of sundry opinions and practices which were partially suppressed, or quite rejected, by our Church at the Reformation".⁶⁴ At the same time, controversy raged over the emphasis on the Sacraments at St John

63. C.N., April 1866.

64. C.N., January 1869.

Baptist's, Hobart, and the emphasis on the pulpit at St John's, Launceston.

In his charge to Synod, 1869, the Bishop remarked:

"Nothing is more detrimental to the interests of true religion than to make the gravest questions of doctrine and discipline questions of popular strife instead of legitimate authority..."⁶⁵

The growing controversy in churchmanship, especially in clerical quarters, was causing concern to laymen. Correspondents to the Church News and the Mercury objected that while the clergy were dreaming and fighting over "some obscure, miserable dogma or some effeminate vestment" they were woefully deficient in practical religion. Wrote one correspondent:

"There is among many Tasmanian clergymen an offensive assumption of superiority, a pride of caste, a disposition to patronize the laity, a narrow and intolerant spirit, too often a somewhat ludicrous ignorance of the results of science - a peevish horror of everything that does not square with their own creed..."⁶⁶

Many felt that if clergymen would study theological systems less, and real Christianity and human nature more, "they would be far better able to find their way into men's affections".

Newspapers regarded even the Bishop with suspicion. The Australian Churchman reported that bishops should be "safe men", interested in people and not in doctrinal innovations. They should be satisfied with "things as they are" and convinced that "whatever is, is right". In the estimation of that paper, Bromby ought to be branded "Dangerous" and advertised to the faithful as such.⁶⁷ Bromby certainly wrote and spoke at times as a fearless

65. D.S.T., 1869.

66. C.N., August 1869.

67. C.N., October 1869.

adventurer in theoretical churchmanship. In 1870, he was considering the "dangers of the times". In his Synod address, he expressed the idea that the Church of the future could well embrace all schools of thought, sacramental and evangelic, building its unity on the basis of tolerant interdependence.⁶⁸ However, conservative churchmen regarded such utterances as utopian and dangerous, and they were strengthened in their attitude by the Vatican Council's pronouncements on infallibility and the Privy Council's judgment in the Bennett case, denying "the real and actual Presence of the Lord upon the altars of our churches".⁶⁹ None-the-less, Brömby dared to give evidence of his own new and growing sympathies. He had complained to Rev. C. Brammall, of Sorell, of "the popular Protestantism of the day, disrupting Tasmania",⁷⁰ and to Rev. B. Craig, of Adelaide, of "the Tasmanian Churchman's tendency to co-operate with Dissent."⁷¹ Now, in 1870, he was prepared to ordain Rev. R. Hayward for Port Arthur, despite the refusal of the Bishop of Melbourne to ordain him on "serious doctrinal grounds".⁷² Hayward was an ardent high-Churchman. In October 1870, Bromby was remonstrating with Brownrigg, of Launceston, over his association with the Baptists in religious services.⁷³ Moreover, Bromby rejected Stackhouse's move to succeed

68. D.S.T., 1870.

69. C.N., November 1870.

70. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Brammall, 26 January 1869.

71. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Craig, January 1869.²⁹

72. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Bishop of Melbourne, 15 June 1870.

73. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Brownrigg, 18 October 1870.

74
Reibey as Archdeacon, appointed the elderly W. H. Browne to the post, and
75
76
placated Stackhouse by making him a Rural Dean to work with H. O. Irwin, a
77
moderate Churchman of Hagley.

Church Thought: The Ritualistic War in Tasmania, 1871:1872.

By 1871, the stage was set for an "evil and schismatic movement"
78
in Synod. W. H. Browne had given notice of his intention to bring before
Synod two resolutions, even though they had been unsuccessful on earlier oc-
casions. The first aimed at shortening the form of service; the second at
restricting clerical dress in service time. The purpose of the first pro-
posed resolution was to thwart the Prayer-Book revisionary plans of high-
Churchmen;

"I ask not," wrote Browne, "neither do I desire that we, or
any single colonial diocese, should attempt a revision of
our admirable liturgy, though I believe it is capable of
improvement here and there to make it more suitable to
our age." 79

The second proposed resolution was based on a thorough knowledge of the
Tasmanians' preference in clerical attire, and it aimed at limiting the in-
troduction of ritualism in the diocese. The resolution ran:

-
74. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Stackhouse, 17 June 1870.
75. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Browne, 13 July 1870.
76. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Stackhouse, 16 July 1870.
77. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Irwin, 28 July 1870.
78. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Parsons, 27 November 1871.
79. C.N., February 1871.

"Every Clergyman shall wear a white surplice when ministering in the time of Divine Service and prayer in any church, and shall not wear over it any other dress or ornament except the black scarf and such hood as by order of his University or other lawful authority is accorded to him."⁸⁰

When the second resolution came before Synod in February 1871, Stackhouse thought to enlarge its scope by substituting what he anticipated could be the more embracing words of the English Ritual Commission then sitting. Archdeacon Davies, of Hobart, although appreciating the wisdom motivating Browne's resolution, counselled waiting until the results of the Ritual Commission were to hand. Until then, he thought, no good could come of discussing Browne's proposed resolution. However, Davies severely criticized "young men in England who more attended to millinery than to their⁸¹ duties." This brought forth a strong objection from the younger Bromby. He said: "I have no wish to be considered as an advocate of extreme ritualism, or to appear as a panegyrist of the men to whom the Archdeacon referred as effeminate."⁸² He went on to say that some of these men laboured hard and were devoting "their heart's blood to promote the good of the Church and the Glory of God". They were most earnest, faithful and pious. Bromby wished to protest against the conclusion that might be drawn from the Archdeacon's words.

G. Banks Smith, of St George's Church Battery Point, Hobart, angrily objected that the younger Bromby took an erroneous view and spoke in such a

80. D.S.T., 1871.

81. Mercury, 17 February 1871.

82. ibid.

manner as to disparage other men in the Church of England "who, perhaps,⁸³ worked as hard as they could in their holy work". Stackhouse immediately moved an amendment to the resolution: "That no deviation be allowed in respect to vesture than that which has long been the established usage of the Church of England". He expressed his opinion that ritualism was spreading in Tasmania. The Bishop supported his son's statement, and then tried to "apply the gag" by passing to other matters. Browne protested strongly, claiming the right of free speech to Synodsmen. The protest was met with much applause.

Banks Smith then addressed Synod. He maintained that ritualism was spreading in the diocese. He had lived many years in Tasmania and he knew the facts and circumstances which occurred in Nixon's time. A struggle had taken place and consequences ensued which were painful even to remember. The battle then was a doctrinal battle. One of its consequences was to cause distrust between man and man, between clergy and laity. Banks Smith thought the new battle could be on the ritualistic front. His own impression was that for a long time there had been a thought of ritualism being introduced into Tasmania. If this were so, and ritualism were to spread, a state of things would arise to some extent similar to what prevailed in Nixon's time. Therefore, many felt bound by the principles they held to take public steps to prevent the spread of ritualism, for nothing ought to be more deprecated than the division of the Tasmanian clergy and laity into parties. This division would inevitably be caused by ritualisers.

83. ibid.

Banks Smith quoted from the Bishop of London. The Bishop maintained that Ritualistic peculiarities were frequently adopted, not merely from an aesthetic love of a worship appealing to the senses, but to symbolise false doctrine on the nature of the Holy Eucharist. When this is the case, the actors in these scenes are no doubt conscientiously preaching by their worship a doctrine which is very dear to them; but, let them remember, it is not the doctrine of the Church of which they are ministers. Another authority quoted by Banks Smith was the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop said:

"Beginning with the use of lighted candles during the daylight at the administration of the Holy Communion, some men have gone on to incense and to the destructive Roman habits and prostrations which, if they mean anything, speak of an idolatrous worship of the consecrated elements. I feel confident that all good members of the Church will pause before they encourage this downward course."⁸⁴

Bishop Bromby addressed Synod. He feared that the whole question would tend to sow the seed of discord between brethren who were "now harmoniously working together". He considered a certain degree of ritual necessary. It "was supported alike by reason, scripture and the usage of the Church". Bromby maintained that it was only a question of degree that marked the divisions between ritual and ritualism, "a difference which somewhat resembled that existing between Spirituality and Spiritualism". The danger to be avoided was that of men becoming narrow-minded. Therefore, they should not approach the question in the spirit of party. The Church of England, said Bromby, "never intended to proscribe the existence of freedom of thought and practice". In this, as in other matters, members

⁸⁴. *ibid.*

of Synod should bow to the law of the Church to which they belonged. They should be guided by what it allowed and what it proscribed. The Bishop then put the Archdeacon's resolution to the vote. The voting by clergy was equal. Bromby then gave a casting vote. The resolution was rejected.

However, this was not the end of the matter. On 20 February 1871 a Petition was presented in Synod by J. T. Gellibrand. It was received and read, and ordered to be printed with the Record of the Session. The Petition read:

"To the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Tasmania,
the Reverend the Clergy, and the Representatives of
the Laity, in Synod assembled.

The Petition of the Undersigned respectfully sheweth:

1. That certain excesses in the wearing of strange vestments, and in the use of incense and other things, indicative (more or less) of dangerous doctrines, have been made in various Churches in England, - and that such excesses are now causing great anxiety to all earnest Churchmen.
 2. That it seems to your Petitioners, that such excesses would never have reached their present extent if they had been properly met in the first instance, by precautionary measures from the Church Authorities.
 3. That, inasmuch as there is in this Diocese a Synod, or corporate body of the Church - consisting of the Bishop, the Clergy, and the Representatives of the Laity - your petitioners are strongly of opinion that the excesses complained of should be met by some protestation.
 4. That your Petitioners, having respect for the integrity of the Church of England in this land - and therein more particularly for the souls of men - desire to declare their adherence to the principles of the Reformation, and earnestly pray that this Synod will recommend the adoption of all such pre-
-

cautions as may be necessary to preserve our Church from the encroachments of modern Ritualism.

And your Petitioners will ever pray, etc.,

J. T. Gellibrand, M.A., Clergyman in Charge of St David's.
Samuel Parsons, D.D., Incumbent of All Saints'.
W.W.F. Murray, M.A., Incumbent of St Matthew's, New Norfolk.
John Burrowes, A.B., Incumbent of St Mark's, Pontville.
M. Blake Brownrigg, Incumbent of St John's, Launceston.
G. Banks Smith, Incumbent of St George's, Hobart Town.
Edward Symonds, Incumbent of St Paul's, Glenorchy." 85

The Petition had some effect. When the "Chapter of the new Cathedral" came up for discussion in the Synod, Parsons persuaded members that the Chapter should undertake "to prevent a divergence in ritual, ornaments or vestments, in the mode of conducting services adopted by long usage in English cathedrals." 86

At the same time, Bromby strongly objected to the action of the Petitioners. In his closing speech, the Bishop subjected them to severe censure. He accused them of going to the other extreme. 87 "His Lordship evidently puts too much faith in the see-saw process," wrote the editor of the Mercury. "We know what excess investments means, but what is meant by going to the other extreme?" 88 Newspapers generally regarded Bromby as more fortunate in addressing Synod than in guiding it. They stressed that, if the Petitioners were right in protesting against the "pernicious and dead-

85. D.S.T., 1871.

86. Mercury, 21 February 1871.

87. C.N., March 1871.

88. Mercury, 25 February 1871.

*orig. in 1871
reprinted.*

ly evil" of Ritualism, then "lay members should unite with them in their efforts, and make an earnest and vigorous stand against what may yet cause a fatal disruption in the Church of England in Tasmania."⁸⁹ A correspondent to the Mercury, who signed himself "Churchman", spoke on behalf of the "unsophisticated Tasmanian": "Truly he, poor native, could scarcely breathe, much less pray, in comfort, amidst the formidable array of ritualism".⁹⁰

⁹¹
The younger Bromby's correspondence at this time is relevant. He wrote that the proceedings would have been amusing had they not been so sad and mischievous. "'Twas very cruel to stir up suspicion and sow the seeds of party spirit when we had been going on so quietly." He reported that the Bishop "was very indignant and vexed" and, as for himself, "I try not to fret or feel uncharitable". The younger Bromby was avaricious for praise and power, and petulant when opposed.

For the rest of the year 1871, an uneasy peace prevailed. However, Valentine lost no opportunity to protest in public when he felt that Reformation principles were assailed. The younger Bromby was the chief target of his criticism. Valentine threatened prosecution, but refrained from laying charges. "I am sorely puzzled to know what to do," wrote the younger Bromby, "if Dr Valentine persists in his determination to prosecute me on the question of my posture in Celebrating. You see, the matter is still more difficult from the fact of one's Bishop being also one's father. Still

89. Mercury, 23 February 1871.

90. Mercury, 21 February 1871.

91. J.H.B. Mace, op cit, p 55 et seq.

I do not feel at all inclined to give in....."⁹² The younger Bromby could have resigned and returned to England; but apparently family ties were too strong. With or without the son, the father's episcopate seemed doomed to failure.

The Synod of February 1872 was a grievous session for high-Churchmen. The main conflict surrounded a resolution and a request tabled by Banks Smith. The resolution was that Synod should deprecate the use and circulation of books and tracts of a "Romanizing tendency". The chief book cited was The Priests' Prayer Book. The request was that the Bishop should reveal all correspondence between Bromby, the Governor and the Secretary to Penal Establishments as to the mode in which divine service was conducted at Port Arthur, and the circulation of books and tracts there by R. Hayward.

Synod had been prepared for spirited discussion and argument even before Banks Smith had spoken. Bromby, in his opening address, which was a masterpiece of literary composition, incurred the anger of men who were itching for conflict, and disinterested in the Bishop's apologia on his own theological position of "being all things to all men". Bromby deplored angry discussions in Synod. "How trivial appear our transitory controversies upon profoundest mysteries," he said, "how puerile our questions of ephemeral ceremonies."⁹³ All who had decided views were puzzled to know if Bromby held with him or against him. Bromby said that the object of Synod-

92. J. H. B. Mace, op cit, p 57.

93. Mercury, 28 February 1872.

ical meetings should tend to counteract narrowness of one's private views and intolerance of other men's. Bromby's opponents maintained that, while thus inculcating liberality, he himself provided an instance of the narrow-mindedness he condemned. Bromby tried to assure Synod that everything was satisfactory in his diocese. Yet he gave over a great deal of his opening address to discussing Ritualism and Churchmanship, the very subjects which had caused discord in Tasmania. Although the Bishop seemed to fluctuate over a variety of subjects, all his remarks in his presidential paper coalesced to demonstrate the danger of unrestrained freedom of discussion. Tasmanian newspapers were violently critical of the Bishop's attitude. The Mercury was pro-Congregationalist. Criticism mounted, both in editorials and correspondence, as Synod proceeded.

Bromby dealt first with the Port Arthur correspondence. A prisoner had objected to a cross being placed on the holy table. His religious feelings were outraged. He sent a written protest to the Governor-in-Council. The Governor granted the prisoner exemption from chapel attendance. He was to stay in his own cell with Bible and Prayer-Book, during service time. Another prisoner tried the same plan; he memorialised the Governor. A second exemption was granted. The letter was sent to the Bishop for observation. "That which was complained of by the prisoners," said Bromby ambiguously, "though it might not be permissible by the standards of the Church, should not be always insisted upon." ⁹⁴ The cross in question must have been very small, because he, the Bishop, did not even observe it. As

for the prisoners, "aging men of dim vision", the Bishop doubted if they could see the cross either. Bromby had no knowledge of books or tracts distributed by Hayward. Nor did he have knowledge of the whereabouts of the second dissenting prisoner. This man had escaped during the hour of service soon after the exemption had been granted. Despite Bromby's Condonation of Hayward's practices, many Synodsmen remained unconvinced that all was well with churchmanship in the chapel at Port Arthur.

The conflict over the "Romanizing books" was fierce and bitter. Although Banks Smith had withdrawn his resolution, for it was discovered that he himself had ordered and imported The Priests' Prayer Book with other material from the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a substitute resolution was brought forward by a layman named J. Barnard. When amended, the resolution called upon Synod through the Bishop "to warn members of the Church, both lay and clerical, to be on their guard against the Romanizing tendency which 'such books' contain". Additional books were named: The Altar Book for the Young and The English Catholic's Vade Mecum, allegedly used by clergy in various parts of the diocese. A most spirited, sad debate ensued. The Bishop tried to "gag" in debate both W. Valentine and A. Kennerley. Bromby wanted to limit the action of the Synod to giving a public assent "to measures already discussed and approved". Gellibrand accused the Bishop of stifling freedom of speech. Banks Smith rejected Bromby's "peace-at-any-price" policy. Mercury editorials and a spate of newspaper correspondence supported the anti-Ritualists, and strongly opposed Bromby and many of his clergy. Wrote the Mercury:

"It is not are these doctrines true, but are they the doctrines of the Church of England? Are they con-

St. Bart Inn
March 4. 1871



R.
I beg to acknowledge your
letter of yesterday's date.
In compliance with the
request of His Excellency I
have to state that while
a Crucifix used as an
ornament would be illegal,
a pictorial representation
of the Crucifixion is not
so, that a stone cross,
if movable, is not fastened
to the wall. Communion Table
has also been ruled by
Authority as not illegal,
nor contrary to the

The Hayward Controversy.

The Bishop writes to His Excellency.

sonant with the doctrines of the Church? If they are, why does not the Bishop say so. If they are not, then why does he hesitate to condemn, since a portion of his clergy use, if they do not believe, the tenets that are under view.....Bishop Bromby should not be astonished at the uneasiness pervading the minds of old-fashioned Tasmanian Protestants at the present aspect of affairs. For though he may try to shut their minds, they do not become ignorant of the tendencies of ritualism..... Out of every twenty Anglicans who have recently joined the Roman Church in England, not less than seventeen had been prepared for the step by the teachings they had heard from ritualistic pulpits, and by the practices they had got accustomed to in ritualistic churches....."95

The Synod debate proved the advanced ritualism of Hayward, who "so fortunately for himself had his nest provided and feathered for him by a less unsympathetic Bishop than the one who so ably presides over the Dioceses of Victoria". The debate showed also the advanced "fellow feeling" which made the younger Bromby, Hudspeth, Davenport and Greene so "wondrous kind". It manifested the vacillating uncertainty of Cox, Davies and Hales and the special pleading of such laymen as Justin Browne, Tarleton, Sharland, Cook and Blyth. The debate revealed a strong Protestant feeling existing amongst the greater portion of Tasmanian-born or long-established clergy, an actively aggressive Romanizing faction and a still stronger temporizing party.⁹⁶ The Bishop was castigated verbally in Synod, by newspaper editors and anonymous writers. One account reported that "complaints both loud and deep" had existed almost since Bromby's arrival. A prophecy was made: "Ere long such a storm will break as will most assuredly astonish the Bishop's weak nerves," for it was high time that laymen outside Synod should cease grumbling and take to action," and no longer tolerate the insidious intro-

95. Mercury, 4 March 1872.

96. Mercury, 6 March 1872.

duction of Popery into our Protestant Church".

The resolution was defeated: Ayes, 12; Noes, 14. Clergy who voted for the resolution were: Stackhouse, Gellibrand, Wilson, Banks Smith, Symonds and Parsons. Those who voted against were: Davies, Cox, Hudspeth, Hales, Davenport, Bromby, Greene and Hayward.

Barnard did not accept defeat. He tabled another resolution, this time seeking to forbid the use of the said books in the diocese. Tempers flared up again. Cox moved an amendment: that the Bishop be pleased to admonish the clergy in their parochial and pastoral ministrations to use only such books as were strictly in accordance with the Thirty-nine Articles and the other formularies of the Church of England. After further heated argument, often at a personal level, Cox's amendment was carried. If the first finding was such as to satisfy no-one, the second dissatisfied every-one, always, of course, excepting the ritualist themselves. The resolution committed the Bishop and the Church to nothing. The Synod was asked to deal with serious difficulties in doctrine and practice. It did not rise equal to the occasion. As with the 1871 Synod, it sought to find not its duty as the governing body of a branch of the Protestant Church but how to prevent differences that prevailed from coming to a climax. A false truce was effected. Neither side had any thought of abandoning its position, and each party remained on the watch to seize the first opportunity to obtain an advantage over the other.

In 1871, the battle of the vestments was fought, and ended in "giv-

ing the question the go-by". In 1872, the question had been virtually one of faith; a definite answer was evaded. The public was bewildered. How could clergymen remain in a body, professing and practising what that body disavowed, "professing and practising in secret what they dare not openly assert or do"? People criticised the Bishop. Newspapers accused him of failing to bring a proper degree of firmness to bear in the discharge of his duties. "If the Bishop has participated in the progressive character of the age, the progress has certainly not been towards perfection."

When Synod adjourned, the Tasmanian Press carried on the ritual controversy. It adopted a strong anti-Bromby tone; it accused the Bishop of reticence and weakness, and denounced the younger Bromby's ritualistic ministry at St John Baptist's, Hobart. Noise of the battle reached England. The Church Times carried news of Valentine's intention to "cite" the younger Bromby before the Bishop for disobeying the Privy Council's judgment in the Purchas Case which declared the Eastward position at the Lord's Table illegal, "but no change has been made as yet in the position of this priest at the Holy Eucharist"⁹⁸. Yet the Bishop denied that any complaint had been laid before him. The younger Bromby declared himself as being "Protestant to the backbone". Symonds queried the Bishop's professed impartiality. He proved that all recent clerical additions, "and especially such as are trained⁹⁹ in the diocese", bore an unmistakeable brand of ritualism. It was demanded of the Bishop that he should give a "clear bold enunciation" of the

98. Mercury, 7 March 1872.

99. Mercury, 7 March 1872.

principles and doctrines of the Reformed Church of England, and that his
100
acts should be consistent with his words.

Meanwhile, the younger Bromby was named and denounced as the arch-enemy of Tasmanian Protestantism. A Confirmation Card was placed before the public. H. B. Bromby had prepared the service card as a Memorial for a Confirmation held in his Church on 2 June 1871. It advocated auricular confession, priestly absolution, the sacrifice of the mass, and prayers for
101
the dead. The Bishop sanctioned the card over his own signature. Opposition to the Bishop and his son developed rapidly. Clergy and laity began to canvass throughout the colony for signatures to a Memorial to the Bishop calling upon him to act decisively in checking Romanizing teaching and usages in the Church of England in Tasmania. Some of the canvassers made serious accusations against the younger Bromby. Anonymous letters addressed to newspapers carried covert insinuations. These were that high-Church clergymen and by implication, particularly the younger Bromby, were "capable of asking indecent questions of girls of tender years, thus suggesting thoughts of infamy of which otherwise to their dying day they might have been guiltless."
102
The questions were allegedly asked in the St John Baptist's Confessional and in private interviews before Confirmation and Marriage.
103

"A swarm of bitter letters" appeared in the newspapers. The young-

-
100. Mercury, 20 March 1872.
101. Mercury, 16 March 1872.
102. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Mercury, 27 March 1872.
103. J.H.B. Mace, op cit, p 58 et seq.

er Bromby's ritualism and Romanizing tendencies were much discussed. Those who canvassed signatures for the Memorial to be presented to the Bishop used the current rumours as a means of gaining support. The Bishop wanted to take legal action. He tried to trace the rumour to its source. First he wrote to Rev. R. Wilson:

"A rumour, apparently well substantiated, has reached me. Certain witnesses have declared that, in canvassing them for subscriptions to what is termed 'The Memorial of the Laity,' you have made sundry slanderous statements calculated to damage the character and usefulness of a brother clergyman....."¹⁰⁴

Wilson allegedly told laymen in various parts of Tasmania that habitual Confession was practised in the Vestry of St John the Baptist's, Hobart, "where there had been placed a red curtain with a large white cross upon it"; also, that a young girl had had put to her questions "which caused shame and grief to herself, her brother and her mother". "Be good enough to inform me immediately," wrote Bromby, "upon whose authority you have made these statements, and, if you have made these statements, to supply me immediately with the name of the young woman referred to."¹⁰⁵ Wilson denied knowledge of this unwarranted canvassing. Next, Bromby approached his informant to help clear up a matter which "involved one of two parties in a serious charge of untruthfulness."¹⁰⁶ In addition, he wrote to the Mercury asking the anonymous writer to drop his mask. Bromby demanded proofs of the charge which, if substantiated, would be followed "by the very severest ecclesiastical penalty" that

104. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Wilson, 11 April 1872.

105. *ibid.*

106. Bp's L.B., Bromby/ - , 22 April 1872.

he was empowered to inflict. Failing such proofs, Bromby would prosecute in a Criminal Court the accuser for "one of the basest libels of which a man can possibly be guilty". No name was forthcoming; no charges could be laid.

The younger Bromby dissuaded his father from pursuing the matter. "It is a glorious and blessed thing to have any special suffering or persecution to bear," he wrote, ".....May God grant that this trouble may be the herald of a greater spiritual strength and power and a better work to be done in the future."¹⁰⁷ A tragedy had occurred. In his devotion to his son, Bishop Bromby appeared to take up a position which was not really his, that is the doctrinal position associated with Ritualism. It was a position unfortunate in that it was unpopular; doubly so in that it was opposed to the traditional island churchmanship and in that the Bishop advanced it not from his love of God, but from his love of his own son.

Meanwhile, in accordance with the Synod Resolution of 5 March, Bromby issued his Admonition, dated 20 March 1872. It was published in the Church News, April 1872. Bromby declaimed that the "restless spirit of the age" pointed out peculiar dangers. The difficulty was to adjust the right of the individual conscience and the duty of conforming to the formularies and Articles which every commissioned teacher promised to observe. It was the boast of Protestantism that two things be recognised; the right of private judgment, and the rule of God's spirit within the individual soul. Despite the fact that a clergyman's ordination vows forbade him to transgress limits of liberty which the Church prescribed, Bromby believed that the comprehen-

107. J.H.B. Mace, op cit, p 59.

siveness of the Church of England's standards allowed for "great latitude of thought". As Bishop, Bromby saw it as a duty to restrain abuse of liberty in any direction. He undertook to refuse to yield to any pressure whatever which would interfere with individual freedom whether of thought or action, "so long as such liberty is confined within the large limits wisely permitted by the Church". Whatever was permitted by "the comprehensive standards of the Church at Home" Bromby intended to permit in Tasmania. Conversely, whatever was proved by proper authority to be contrary to the purity of Christ's Gospel, "and the doctrines of the Church, as we have received them", Bromby intended to discountenance and, when necessary, restrain.

Bromby wrote:

"My own opinions ought to be sufficiently known from my sermons and public writings, but they have nothing to do with the question before us.....Whatever symbolises Roman doctrines on the one hand, or reduces the Sacraments to bare and empty signs on the other, you are all bound by your solemn vows to avoid. Within these limits I do not look for exact agreement of doctrine, nor do I object to diversities in ritual suited to the tastes and wishes of your people."¹⁰⁸

Laymen generally felt that an unseemly respect of persons pervaded the Bishop's letter. Bromby had said nothing which would discourage the Ritualists. Episcopal spontaneity was dulled by paternal devotion and protection. Brownrigg expressed discontent with the Admonition, from his pulpit in St John's, Launceston. Bromby was seen as one who presided over his diocese, but who did not rule.

On 24 April 1872, the "Memorial of the Laity" was presented to

108. C.N., April 1872.

Bromby, on the subject of objectionable books and ritualistic practices in the Diocese of Tasmania. About 800 laymen signed the Memorial. It was presented to Bromby at Bishopscourt, Hobart, by a deputation led by Hon. Dr W. Crowther, M.L.C., and Hon. A. Kennerley, M.L.C. The Memorialists believed that "some practices and ceremonies of a superstitious character, and contrary to the doctrine and usage of the Church of England are beginning to take root in this Diocese. Looking anxiously towards the future of our Church in this Colony, and regarding especially the best interests of our children, and all who are now of tender age therein, we urge your Lordship to adopt such measures that all reasonable ground for alarm may be at once taken away."¹⁰⁹

Bromby received the deputation in the presence of Davies and Cox. The Bishop said that there were circumstances which prevented him from regarding the Memorial as a spontaneous expression of lay feeling. He referred to "slandorous and very objectionable arguments" used "by at least one of the clergy" in the active canvass for signatures. Bromby insisted that there were two errors: the belief that teachings contrary to Anglican doctrine were tolerated in the diocese; and the belief that the Bishop could act autocratically in a diocese where a Synod had been instituted. The Bishop's power was directed and defined by Synod in its "Act for the Trial of Ecclesiastical offences".¹¹⁰ As for his approach to churchmanship, the Bishop spoke of Hayward of Port Arthur, and of his recent visit to him there. "Until I

109. Mercury, 25 April 1872.

110. ibid.

am prepared to throw up the Episcopate and undertake his depressing work with as much effect and devotion," wrote Bromby, "I had rather, if necessary, make the law as elastic as a liberal interpretation will allow me, than go out of my way to crush Hayward or to lose him."¹¹¹

Bromby spoke angrily of the Memorialists and of the Press. He gave little hope of acceding to the laymen's requests. He bristled when referring indirectly to the veiled insinuations against his son and other ritualists. He said that it was only through forbearance that the Law had not been invoked. Bromby wrote:

"I can never consent to abridge the measure of toleration which, in these days of freer thought and larger liberty, is allowed to individual clergymen and their congregations in the Mother Church from which I received my mission as your Bishop. This principle of constitutional freedom which attaches the Mother Church to my own heart, and which forms one of the truest links between the Mother and the Daughter Churches has ever been and will continue to be the principle that will ever guide me in the administrations of the Diocese."¹¹²

Bromby reiterated his Pastoral message: that he would refuse to yield to any pressure which would interfere with a clergyman's individual freedom. On the other hand, he was not afraid to stop ritualistic practices. Bromby referred to his prohibitions at Oatlands soon after his arrival in Tasmania.

Memorialists and anti-Ritualists were dissatisfied. The Mercury was savagely critical of the Bishop. Once more, the younger Bromby and St John Baptist's Church were subjected to scrutiny and criticism. However, the younger Bromby was absolved of participating in some of the baser

111. ibid.

112. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Memorialists, 24 April 1872.

113

practices with which rumour charged him. But skirmishes continued.

Valentine once more complained of the younger Bromby's assumption of the Eastward Position. The Bishop appealed for tolerance.¹¹⁴ He entered into theological argument with Valentine. Once more, Valentine, with precision, Anglican formularies and Privy Council judgments as his allies, made Bromby appear silly. Valentine threatened prosecution. The Bishop was alarmed; but his son was belligerent. The younger Bromby wrote:

"This places me in a most trying position with regard to my dear father and Bishop who, of course, wishes me to yield the point, though he is most kind and forbearing and quite tolerates and sympathises with though he does not agree with our view of the case.....I myself am one of the Church "Triers".....A trial would make people inquire;.....it will teach the Catholic Doctrine more than a hundred sermons."¹¹⁵

Valentine held his hand. He did not proceed to prosecution. Essentially, Valentine was a kind man. But he warned publicly about the younger Bromby and of preparations being made in the new Cathedral for the introduction of advanced Ritualism; yet St David's was to be the model church of the diocese. Moreover, Valentine criticised the Anglican Church Conference.¹¹⁶ In one paper, the younger Bromby had said: "We are weekly praying in behalf of the Holy Father and for restored communion with the Church of Rome". Valentine made a prophecy: "The Bishop will work this way: In due time, will follow the removal of Canon Bromby with his Popish

113. See Correspondence, Barnard/Bromby, H.B.

114. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Valentine, Mercury, 23 May 1872,
17 June 1872, 20 June 1872,
22 June 1872.

115. J.H.B. Mace, op cit, p. 60 et seq.

116. Mercury, 19 November 1872.

ritual from St John's to the Cathedral, and the ambition of that young enthusiast will be in a fair way for its full accomplishment."¹¹⁷

While Valentine fulminated against "traitorous attempts to un-protestantize our Church" and the Bishop philosophized on an Australian Church and church union on a basis of comprehensiveness, newspapers uttered despair. "The grand old Protestant bulwark in Tasmania, the Church of England, can now hardly calculate upon the fidelity of any of its most conspicuous defenders, for all, or a great proportion, of young old churchmen are on their way to Rome."¹¹⁸ Even such a moderate and intelligent clergyman as J. Buckland saw fit to warn Bromby of "growing mischief" at the cathedral.¹¹⁹ The Bishop attempted to placate his fears. While the Bishop was trying to assuage his embarrassment and to support his son, the younger Bromby was busy with dreams for the future. He wanted to start a Community of Priests in Hobart.¹²⁰ He had plans to bring out "one or two Sisters to begin a House of Mercy here."¹²¹ Moreover, he saw the new Cathedral, which was now almost ready for consecration, as the centre for both these schemes.

C. H. Bromby's great qualification for his late nineteenth century colonial Bishopric was his genuine toleration and love of the breadth of the

117. ibid.

118. Cornwall Chronicle, 11 March 1872.

119. Bp's L.B., Bromby/Buckland, 27 June 1872.

120. J. H. B. Mace, op cit, p. 68.

121. ibid, p 62.

Church of England. However, the qualification was destroyed and perverted by his family connexions. A man of genuine altruism makes the mistake which any petty, grovelling nepotist might do. The strength of family ties which was a remarkable, indeed probably the most remarkable, feature in the personal psychological life of C. H. and H.B. Bromby, and in its way the greatest tribute to their character, fatally bound and constricted their work at the time of greatest challenge. The Bishop's devotion to his son led to an insipid theological compromise. The younger Bromby with the face of a saint, yet with a passionate selfish zeal, was spoiling his father's episcopate.

Chapter Seven
THE NEW CATHEDRAL ERA.

1873:1882

The Cathedral and its Controversies

C. H. Bromby was a builder. He had seen the growth of St John's College, Cambridge, renovated and enlarged St Paul's Church, Cheltenham, and planned the construction of the Cheltenham Normal College. Also Bromby was interested in cathedrals. He saw them, not only as symbols of progress and gauges of diocesan health, but as the expression of theological thought. Bromby wrote:

"The English cathedrals.....were expected to meet the demands of the medieval period.....they have lost much of their architectural meaning since the Reformation. We need now rather a superior type of Parish Church, less expensive by far; yet beautiful in form, and imposing in proportions; a monument, if not of lavish dedication of wealth to the service of God, yet so far a work of art as to recognize the duty of consecrating the sense of the beautiful to Him who implanted it. It should be home-like, representing the proximity as well as the sublimity of God....." ¹

C. H. Bromby had grown up in the precincts of Holy Trinity Church, Hull. He shared with his vicar father an appreciation of architectural purpose and beauty. Together, through personal discussion and frequent correspondence, the two men had drafted a dream for a cathedral in Hobart, a cathedral which they hoped would invigorate worship in the colonial diocese and, at the same time, enhance the cause of comprehensive Anglicanism. At home, churchmen were beginning to adapt the old cathedrals to the altered

1. B.C., St David's Cathedral Church, Bp's Pastoral, August 1866.

circumstances and the felt requirements of the age. In Tasmania, Bromby thought he would have the advantage of starting with the knowledge of the conscious wants of members of the reformed Church of England amid the circumstances of colonial life. The challenge was exciting. Even before he left England, Bromby had launched an appeal for funds for a new cathedral. His father, J. H. Bromby, applied to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge for a grant for the project. The Society gave him four hundred pounds as token of their esteem. He was the oldest living subscriber to the Society.² In addition, the Bishop's own marriage had given him the interest and advice of a brother-in-law, G. F. Bodley, who was one of England's leading ecclesiastical architects.

Bromby was soon armed with an incipient design. The new cathedral in Hobart would belong to the Decorated period of English Gothic architecture. It would be intimate, suited to colonial conditions. Bromby liked the idea. He would build the nave, leaving the fulfilment of the whole plan to later episcopates. Bromby realized that there would be heavy expense; he anticipated opposition on these grounds, at least. Always an exponent of the Christian way in terms of sacrifice, he determined to pursue the course of cathedral construction. He soon saw the purpose of the new cathedral as complementary to his expressed anti-Erastianism. Churchmen would provide it, not the State. The passing of the Bill to commute State-aid and the laying of the foundation stone of the new cathedral both occurred in 1868. In the same year, on 25 March, the Bishop's father died.

2. Church Gazette (Diocese of Melbourne), 2 January 1865.

Bromby saw his own part in the cathedral project as a memorial to his father, as well as an act of dedication to God.

Hobart's need was great; the existing cathedral was inadequate and, from the diocesan's point of view, unworthy. St David's Church had a history extending back to 1810. Upon the death, in that year, of Lt-Gov. David Collins, a small wooden church had been erected in Hobart's burial ground, and Collins' body was interred there. Soon afterwards, the church had been blown down in a storm. It was not until 19 February 1817 that another church was started.³ It was situate at the corner of Macquarie and Murray Streets, Hobart. The first service was held in the new St David's Church on Good Friday, 5 April 1822.⁴ On 9 January 1823, Rev. Samuel Marsden, Senior Chaplain of New South Wales, consecrated both the church and the burial ground.⁵ He acted under commission of the Archbishop of Canterbury.^{reference?} In May 1823, the Lt-Governor called a special meeting of colonists to consider buying an organ.⁶ A clock was placed in the tower. The parishioners were satisfied.

In this second St David's Church, Knopwood preached his farewell

-
3. Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter, Vol 11, No. 30, 22 February 1817; quoted, C.N., September 1874.
 4. Gazette and Advertiser, Vol VII, No 309, 6 April 1822; quoted C.N., September 1874.
 5. Gazette and Advertiser, Vol VIII, No 354, 15 February 1823; quoted C.N., September 1874.
 6. Gazette and Advertiser, Vol VIII, No 366, 10 May 1823.

sermon on 27 April 1823; from the church, Bedford, Davies, Cox and Gelli-brand all ministered to the colonists who compromised the parish of St David. Later, the Letters Patent founding the Diocese of Tasmania had constituted St David's a Cathedral church. Nixon and Bromby had both been enthroned there. Despite the early complaints that the cathedral was unsatisfactory and inadequate, parishioners staunchly adhered to St David's as a parish church. They feared to convert it into a new cathedral lest, in the process, they lose their parochial rights. The "Old St David's" had served as a Hobart parish church for twenty years. As such, it was chiefly revered by the old inhabitants who worshipped there. The older parishioners were not interested in transplanting to Tasmania the English idea of a Cathedral with its adjuncts of Deans and Canons, particularly if such a cathedral were to be superimposed on a church which they had built and furnished to meet their parochial needs. This spirit of parochialism, synonymous with Tasmanian lay activity, had earlier defied Nixon. On 1 March 1853, he had launched an appeal to colonists "to join us in one of the noblest works in which we can engage: a building which shall henceforth be indeed the Mother Church of the Diocese"⁷. Nixon had asked for £20,000. He had been certain that he could raise it. "Never have I asked in vain," he wrote; "never have I been disap-⁸ pointed by a cold or indifferent answer to my pleading....." The appeal brought forth promises of £500 annually over five years. The subscription list was headed by Nixon, who promised £100 annually. Parochialism suc-

7. Quoted, N. Nixon, op cit, p 52.

8. ibid.



"Old St David's", Hobart.

circa 1844.

ceeded; the appeal was cancelled.

Bromby believed that the Tasmanian See-church conditioned the diocesan life. It explained, in part, Tasmania's ecclesiastical stagnation. However, St David's Church suited Hobart's parishioners. Generally speaking, Tasmanians were not concerned with things diocesan. Their interests were limited to the frontiers of livelihood and to news that came from home. None-the-less Bromby determined to establish a cathedral influence. The determination was creditable.

Soon after he arrived in Tasmania, Bromby brought forward a scheme for a new cathedral. In 1866, he formed a committee to raise funds, and appointed the younger Bromby as secretary. In the long run, this appointment was unfortunate, although initially it was good. The younger Bromby was singularly successful in begging for the fund, both in Tasmania and in Melbourne.⁹ However, he became known as "the young Bishop", and for many who opposed "Brombyism" his cathedral appeal became synonymous with danger. The Bishop and his son had different goals. C. H. Bromby saw the cathedral as an expression of Anglican altruism; the son, to whom much power was delegated, as a chance for enthroning Ritualism. For the son, there could be no "via media"; he did not share his father's conception of a cathedral's role. The Bishop wrote:

"What we need is a Church for the whole Diocese, - a Church which shall be open to every inhabitant whom duties, political or commercial, bring to the capital: the Cathedral City. But, while it is the Diocesan Church, it is also the Cathedral - that is, the Church where is the Bishop's Cathedra or seat: There must be no extremes there.

9. J. H. B. Mace, op cit, p 15.

No partisanship should dull its doors. Within it, the most solemn functions of our religion will be carried on. There the Chief Pastor will preach and exhort the people; there will the Apostolic rite of Confirmation be administered to the largest numbers; and there men of God will be ordained and sent forth, in the presence of the people, to minister in all the Sanctuaries of the land. Our Tasmanian Cathedral Church should also serve the purpose of preparing candidates for the sacred ministry, by presenting to them the best possible type of public services within her walls, services of tolerant and comprehensive churchmanship; and opportunities without of pastoral work, from house to house, among the ignorant and poor." ¹⁰

The Select Committee announced an estimate of costs:

Nave and Aisles, including Porch	£ 9,700	
Chancel and Aisles,	£ 4,500	
Tower and Spire	£ <u>3,600</u>	11
Total	£ <u>17,800</u>	

It was proposed to attempt only the first portion of the work. The Chancel and Tower were to be left to more prosperous times, or even a future generation, "unless God shall put it into the heart of some Churchman to build to His Glory either of the remaining portions". It was further proposed to raise £10,000 in five years; ten men should contribute £50 each for five years; twenty men, £20 each; forty, £10 each; eight £5 each; and one hundred, £1 each. Of the eighty subscribers or collectors of £5 a year, perhaps thirty, could be found in Hobart Town and twenty in Launceston. Moreover, if only one half of the rural Clergy found five collectors of £1 a year, the burden would be very fairly distributed. ¹² Thus, what Bromby cal-

10. B.C., St David's Cathedral Church, Bp's Pastoral, August 1866.

11. *ibid.*

12. 10x£250 = £ 2,500
 20x£100 = £ 2,000
 40x£ 50 = £ 2,000
 80x£ 25 = £ 2,000
 100x£ 5 = £ 500
 £ 9,000
 £ 1,000
 Total £10,000

subscribed in England.

led his "Cathedral Parish Church" could soon become "a solid monument of the position and influence of the Church of our Fathers in this Island, an instrument of much blessing to the entire Diocese, and an ornament to the City."¹³ Bromby conceived as "Parish" what others would call "Diocese". He thought of himself as Chief Pastor of an extended "Parish", with his church the Cathedral. Those who had long regarded themselves as parishioners of St David's Church thought otherwise.

Within a year, the response to the Cathedral appeal encouraged Bromby to set a date for the laying of the foundation stone. Queen Victoria's son Alfred Ernest Albert, Duke of Edinburgh, who was to visit Australia in 1867:1868, agreed to perform the ceremony. Such regal patronage acted as an impetus to contributors, diffident parishioners and parochial churchwardens alike. Special seats at the ceremony were allotted to the richer or more generous parishioners. The foundation stone was laid,¹⁴ amidst meagre and tawdry splendour, on 8 January 1868.

The Governor and twenty-six clergy attended. To placate the 'parochialists', the Bishop agreed to place an inscription beneath the foundation stone. This inscription stated that the Church was designed to be "the Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Tasmania" and at the same time "the parish church of Saint David, replacing the earlier structure founded in 1817". Moreover, the inscription bore the names of the Incumbent of the parish, F. H. Cox, the Assistant Curate, H. B. Bromby, and the three Churchwardens. Bromby had made a compromise with "St David's parochialism", a compromise

13. B.C., St David's Cathedral Church, Bp's Pastoral, August 1866.

14. Mercury, 9 January 1868.

was to bring him almost immediate frustration and to thwart his cathedral hopes through several episcopates. The parochialists, although they regarded themselves as conservative and evangelical, were in fact basically non-conformist. Their outlook was Congregationalist rather than Anglican.

The laying of the foundation stone by the Duke of Edinburgh in Hobart was soon supplanted in the popular mind by news of his attempted assassination in Sydney. Things were "back to normal". As the new cathedral began to rise beside the shabby, old St David's parishioners found the change distasteful. The Deanery was obliterated; the new building encroached on the old carriage way. A new era was starting. Wrote Nixon:

"I think you know my private opinion about the Cathedral - it is not your first great want. When the question was mooted some years ago (1852:1853), I cordially went with it - the Colony was suddenly enriched - and the whole matter assumed the character of a thank-offering. You are in a different condition now, and - as it seems to me - what you most need is churches, parsonages, schools, men, and means to pay them withNevertheless, one must regard the Cathedral, when finished, as a noble monument of public spirit....."¹⁵

Not only was Bromby's cathedral idea generally misunderstood. Those who did glimpse the vision saw it as utopian, so long as the younger Bromby had authority in the cathedral project. On the one hand, parishioners feared the loss of their parish church; on the other hand, they were repulsed by the new ritualism of the "young Bishop" in whose hands was placed much of the canvassing for the new cathedral. John Barnard, a staunch parochialist, recalled, in 1877, that the "Cathedral had been built against the earnest remonstrances of the Churchwardens and the strongest manifestations of repug-

15. N. Nixon, op cit, p 59, Nixon/Davenport, 12 July 1869.

nance on the part of the parish".

Meanwhile, building operations proceeded; the Bishop tried to proselytize parochialists to his cause; the younger Bromby, now at St John Baptist's, looked forward to the opening of the cathedral as to "the most joyful moment of my life". Hobart was playing a worthy part in the Australian Cathedral era. Sydney's cathedral had been consecrated; Brisbane, Melbourne, Newcastle, Goulburn and Adelaide were all engaged in, or about to undertake, cathedral building programmes. All these dioceses sought to implement the English idea of cathedral Chapters, with deans and canons, both clerical and lay, providing assistance for the bishop along the lines of a Council of Advice. In Tasmania, Synod members had spirited discussions. Many lay-people objected to the growth of "English" sacerdotalism which they saw in direct opposition to their lay parochialism. The centralization of church authority was a great fear amongst Tasmanian colonial churchmen. It was almost as strong as their fear of Rome. Moreover, they disliked what they thought was a forced progress towards a national church.

The purpose and composition of the St David's Cathedral Chapter, and the functions and constitution of the Cathedral itself, were argued in Synod in 1870 and 1871. In 1872, Synod suggested the first Cathedral Chapter, as the Ritualistic War raged. It was to consist of a Dean and eight Canons, two of whom were to be the Archdeacons ex officio. There was a great outcry from parochialists. In consequence, an amendment was passed,

16. C.N., June 1877.

17. D.S.T., 1870, 1871.

in the form of a Synod Resolution, on 1 March 1872. It called for a greater representation of Lay Synodsmen and the St David's parish. Henceforth, the Chapter would be enlarged. Six Lay members were to be added, of whom three were Churchwardens for the time being of St David's. Cox had just returned from England where he had collected over £360 for the Cathedral building

18

fund. At the instigation of St David's parishioners, Synod insisted that Cox be made Dean. The Bishop was undecided, but Synod's will prevailed. However, Bromby claimed the right to attend Chapter meetings and to have a casting vote. Under Chapter guidance, the Cathedral building grew. On the last Sunday of 1872, it was opened for use with a children's service.

The "floor was like a macadamised road and all the furniture for the interior

19

was still to be provided".

Cox soon found his position in Hobart untenable. It appeared to him that Bromby was bent on doing what Valentine, in vitriolic mood, had prophesied. The Bishop wanted his son to be Dean of the Cathedral. He saw this as a necessary prelude to the son's later elevation to the position of co-adjutor in the North. Bromby's advice to St John's, Launceston, was always directed to the possibility of its becoming a northern See-Church. In the heat of the ritualistic strife, Cox had taken the middle position of appeasement. However, this position was difficult to hold when Bromby attacked the St David's parochialism at the Launceston session of Synod in April 1873, for Cox was still virtually the Incumbent of the St David's

18. B.C., New Cathedral in Hobart: Subscription List published by

F. H. Cox, from Ealing, England, 24 July 1871.

19. W. R. Barrett, op cit, p 23.

Parish Church and had a sense of loyalty to his parishioners.

Bromby had been incensed by the "base attacks" on his son. Moreover, he was repulsed by Valentine's ultra-Protestantism. The Reibey scandal and Press criticisms of the episcopate had appalled him. The Bishop therefore declared his hand in Synod in respect to the cathedral. He denounced the interference with his "cathedral idea", by St David's parishioners, as yet another example of the colonists' arid petulance. "There are no rights peculiar to the parish," said the Bishop. "When St David's Church was constituted a Cathedral, it merged its parochial in its Cathedral character." ²⁰ Bromby declaimed that whatever privileges might be supposed to attach to St David's as a parish church could attach only to the fabric recognised by the existing consecration deed, and would cease to exist as soon as it was pulled down. The funds, said Bromby, had been collected "as for a cathedral and not a parish church". However, St David's parishioners petitioned Synod, through Synodsmen W. Blyth, to safeguard their rights. Bromby said that he had been "legally advised that the parochial privileges are imaginary". Parishioners decided, therefore, that the old church, would not be demolished. "It would continue as the parish church of St David on the same ground and alongside the new building, till the rights of the parishioners and the churchwardens are secured". "Moreover," wrote a Mercury ²¹ correspondent ominously, "funds will not be wanting, nor a clergyman to officiate. The wording of the inscription under the foundation stone was recalled. The

20. Mercury, 23 April 1873.

21. Mercury, 27 April 1873.

Cathedral Committee was accused of collecting money under false pretences.

The Bishop's violent Synod address brought equally violent replies, particularly from the Press. The Mercury was vehement in attack:

"The Bishop evidently possesses the extraordinary faculty of seeing obliquely in a very high degree,..... it is only after years of trial and a careful weighing of his contradictory utterances, and balancing these with the steady consistency of his administration, that his real aims are becoming apparent";²³ "Despite his many declarations that his leaning is in the direction of what is evangelical and broad, the uniform tendency of his actions is towards the high-Church and Ritualistic party. We have no quarrel with him on that score, provided he will only act straight forwardly."²⁴

The Mercury did not understand Bromby's true position or intention. Some laymen thought the Bishop had provided evidence of a deliberate determination to crush the laity, and "push Episcopal pretension to the uttermost". They thought that Synod had been shrewdly summoned at Launceston the more effectually to accomplish his purpose. The "Ethics of the Bishop" became the heading for extensive newspaper correspondence. The Bishop held his ground. He hit out at the absurdity of the complicated arrangement of St David's of an "imperium in imperio". Unless the parishioners would submit to his plan for a cathedral "pure and simple", he would refuse to consecrate the cathedral or he would resign the bishopric. The threat was met with ridicule: "Please don't, Bishop; please don't resign; we shall miss you and your family so". Wrote the Mercury:

"Depend upon it that sooner or later if things are not altered by the Bishop, there will be an open revolution amongst the laity, for it is not possible that they can put up with his arrogance much longer."²⁵

22. ibid.

23. ibid.

24. ibid.

25. Mercury, 28 April 1873.

Parishioners objected to Synod's "fair compromise" as contained in two of the new Regulations for the government of the Cathedral, 1873. The eighth regulation gave churchwardens "charge of the fabric of the Cathedral and of the Cathedral and of all things belonging thereto"; the ninth provided that "all other matters assigned by the Synod to the office of churchwardens in ordinary churches shall pertain to the said office in the Cathedral....."²⁶ Parishioners maintained that these regulations were but a tentative compromise and would deprive them of their full rights as parishioners. Cox saved "the situation". He called meetings of the parishioners for 22 April and 1 May 1873. He tried to give a fair account of the Bishop's "cathedral intention", the Synod's decision and his own attempts to retain the St David's parochial character. Parishioners were appeased.

Soon afterwards, Valentine complained of Romanizing tendencies in the new Cathedral. Southern members of the Chapter, notably the younger Bromby, Davenport and Hudspeth, requested the Dean to erect an elevated "altar platform" in the makeshift sanctuary. Six steps gave ascent to the altar. Laymen recalled all the bitter controversy of the Nixon regime, when the literary Steps to the Altar caused such division and animosity. Valentine wrote bitterly against the Chapter, "the vacillating Dean", "unstable churchwardens" and "fashion-conscious parishioners". He denounced as "monstrous" the altar platform and sanctuary decorations. He spoke of the Bishop's "forlorn hope" of St David's unless he showed enough courage to "bridle" his son and his ritualistic colleagues. "Let the Bishop have this type of cath-

26. D.S.T., 1873.

edral if he wants it, but then let the parishioners keep their own parish church." "It is remarkable," wrote a Mercury correspondent, "that the only two Bishops with which Tasmania has been blessed should have endeavoured to promote their sacerdotalism by means of 'steps to the altar', those of the one being composed of paper, and the other of wood."²⁷

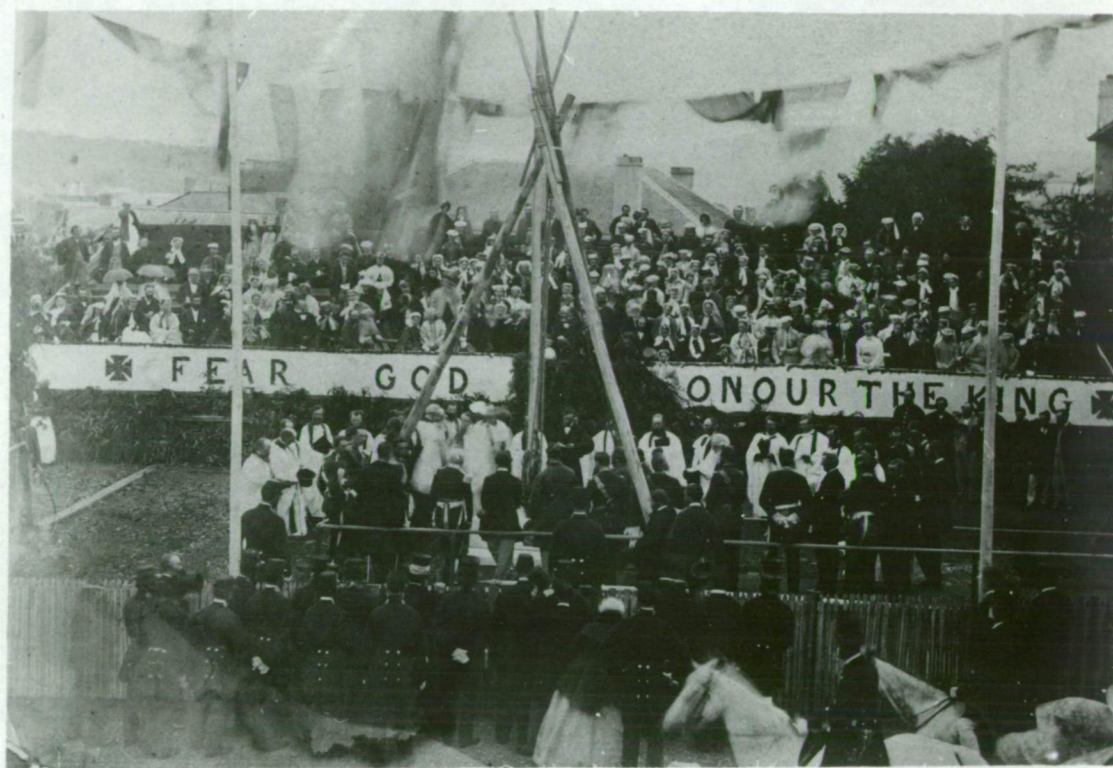
The "cathedral idea," quite against Bromby's intention, became equated with Vandemonian society, sacerdotalism and priestly control; the parochial idea with lay activity "of the humbler sort". "To what height will the cathedral idea be carried and what is to be the nature of its expression?" wrote a parochialist. "The Cathedral idea may be the Hebrew idea; but it is not the Gospel idea. The new clergy seem strangely to misunderstand the wants and feelings of Christ's laity: the professional man requires repose and simplicity in the forms of religious worship, the uneducated but little grandeur, and even the female mind has little love in worship of ornate trappings and royal processions."²⁸

A lengthy correspondence appeared in the Mercury, as an advertisement, between Valentine and the Bishop. It covered such matters as Cathedral practice, Ritualism at St John Baptist, the younger Bromby's defiance of Privy Council judgments in matters ecclesiastical, the doctrines of the Holy Communion, and the Bishop of Melbourne's refusal to ordain C. P. Greene on doctrinal grounds.²⁹ The correspondence left an impression painful to the warm-

27. Mercury, 3 May 1873.

28. ibid.

29. Mercury, circa June 1873.



Duke of Edinburgh Lays the Foundation Stone,
St David's Cathedral, Hobart, January 1868.

Photograph by courtesy: St David's Cathedral Museum, Hobart.

est admirers of the Bishop.

Although F. H. Cox tried to show loyalty to the Bishop and to counsel the Chapter to do likewise, he was unable to influence extremists. Therefore, he resigned in December 1873 and accepted a living in England. After twenty-seven years in Tasmania, Cox left after repeated farewells and amid genuine regret. The Bishop appointed his son as Incumbent, having assured the St David's parish that the younger Bromby would keep faith with Cox's established moderate churchmanship.³⁰ The Bishop himself became Dean until such time as the question of parochial rights in relation to the Cathedral should be resolved. This was expedient: his son would need support. The younger Bromby, said the Bishop, "would be taken on trial in the spirit of love."³¹ As for the younger Bromby's successor at St John Baptist, the Bishop had appointed C. P. Greene, whose pro-Bromby attitude was well-known and who had incurred such strong criticism, from Valentine. The younger Bromby, who, was on the Board of Patronage, secured Greene's nomination to the Bishop. "We hope that now St David's and St John's will be like one parish," wrote the younger Bromby.³²

Almost immediately, the younger Bromby was in conflict with some sections of the St David's parishioners. The contretemps concerned pew rents or free sittings, plain or choral services, alleged ritualistic ornaments or customs. Despite the conflict, and against the wishes of many, the younger

30. Mercury, 16 February 1874.

31. *ibid.*

32. J. H. B. Mace, *op cit*, p. 71.

Bromby began to demolish the old St David's. Hobart was aghast. The tower disappeared and, with it, what was more important to the colonists, the clock. The Bishop and his son worked towards the "consecration" of the nave. They set 5 February 1874 as the date, and invited the senior Australian bishop, Augustus Short of Adelaide, to preach. The younger Bromby sought furnishings and linen for the occasion from old St David's. Some of the churchwardens, angered by the new Dean's ritualism, refused to surrender them. They took refuge in their legal position. They appealed to the Bishop, who declared in favour of his son.

Augustus Adelaide arrived in Hobart from Launceston by stage coach. He brought a bejewelled pastoral staff, the gift of his Adelaide clergy. The staff added splendour to the occasion, but fuel to the flames of criticism. The Tractarian, Short, was affable. He called the new cathedral "a grand structure, specially fitted for the worship of the Almighty, and a noble consummation of the persistent and arduous efforts of a zealous body of people".³³ He entered into the spirit of the service. Prayers and psalms were intoned. Walch Brothers, a local firm, lent "a powerful harmonium". There was a surpliced choir. Twenty-five diocesan clergy attended, as well as four visiting clergy and the two bishops. Short preached from Psalm 122:3 - "Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together". After a day of ceremony and service, Bishop Bromby preached the evening sermon - from Haggai 2:9 - "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former," saith the Lord of Hosts."

33. Mercury, 6 February 1874.

Valentine was not silent during these proceedings. At the beginning of the service of consecration, when the opening prayers were being said, he walked up the chancel and shouted so that all could hear:

"In the presence of the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese, I protest against that bedizened Popish abomination - an altar in a Protestant Church".³⁴

The Bishop called upon the churchwardens to remove "that disturber from the Church". However, Valentine left the cathedral without rendering his removal necessary. The service proceeded uninterrupted. The Bishop was loud and bitter in his criticism of Valentine. He called him a "coward" and a "spy".

The consecration was followed by acrimonious correspondence between the Bishop as Dean and the St David's churchwardens. The arrangements for the "consecration" bore out the younger Bromby's intentions as stated in the recently concluded Synod. Judge Dobson had moved that Synod follow the Privy Council rulings on ritualistic matters. The Judge was expressing Valentine's and the parishioners' convictions. Canon Bromby retaliated. He said that he would adhere "as a matter of doctrine, and from the dictates of his heart" to his ritualistic programme, and this despite his veiled undertaking to the contrary to the Cathedral Chapter in January 1874.³⁵

Those with whom Canon Bromby professed to be of one faith strongly differed from him, both in practice and principle.³⁶ Canon Bromby was far too headstrong and impulsive to be permanently successful in Tasmania. He

34. Mercury, 10 February 1874.

35. "Minutes of the Cathedral Chapter", 9 January 1874.

36. Vide Mercury, 14 February 1874.

was tactless. His enthusiasm led him astray. He held a sufficiently high opinion of himself to regard all Tasmanians who differed from him as in the wrong. He "magnified into matters of principle what were simply bagatelles of colonial practice."

The Bishop, on his part, seemed wilfully blind to the arrogance and partisanship of his son. Although, as Court of Appeal in controversial matters, Bromby sided with Synod, he looked on with apparent approval at his son's behaviour at St David's. The parishioners applied to him the Jacobean saying: "He never says a foolish thing, yet never does a wise one". Yet, the Bishop showed wisdom in his apparent passivity. For example, parochialists found the dual control by father and son of the "Cathedral-parish church" somewhat irksome. In 1876, therefore, they asked that the Incumbent and the Dean should be the one and the same person.

Bromby saw a further opportunity to advance his son's career. The younger Bromby had already become Editor of the Church News, which soon assumed a pro-Ritualistic and pro-Bromby colour. Further, upon John Harrison's death, Bromby made his son Registrar of the Diocese, on 1 February 1876; he hoped to curtail diocesan expenses and, at the same time, give diocesan administrative control to his son at the Cathedral. Now, upon the request of a small yet influential section of the parishioners, Bromby made his son both Dean and Incumbent of St David's Cathedral. The younger Bromby's appointment as Dean of Hobart dated from 8 December 1876.

Bromby aimed to use the cathedral for episcopal pronouncements and instruction, and for the commissioning of those who would preach and teach

on his behalf. In some ways, he over-estimated the needs and intelligence of Tasmania's "seeking laymen"; in others, he was singularly successful. On the one hand, he gave a series of Lent lectures in the cathedral on "the Antiquity, Independence and Characteristics of the English Church, Historically Considered".³⁷ The lectures, most learned and wise, brought forth a few ponderous comments and letters in the Press and a brief crackle from the anti-Ritualistic fire. But, as a means of spiritual revival, they were inadequate. On the other hand, Bromby planned a series of Advent Missions for Hobart in 1875, based on the English Advent Missions of the previous year which were supported by the Bishops of London, Winchester and Rochester. Bromby aimed to use men of different churchmanship, let them minister side by side, and use his cathedral to commission them.

The 1875 Missions were a great success. The younger Bromby (St David's), Davenport (Holy Trinity), Banks-Smith (St George's, Battery Point) and Brooke Bailey (St John Baptist's) united, under the Bishop's lead, to seek a "revival of Real Spiritual Religion". These clergy issued a written appeal to laymen. They composed a Mission Prayer: "God grant that there may be a Pentecost for His waiting and thirsting Church in this land, for we sorely need it." The Missioners were T. C. Curwen Campbell, H. B. Macartney and W. Chalmers of Victoria, and C. F. Garnsey of Windsor, New South Wales. Garnsey was a former Curate of St David's Hobart.

Never before in the history of the Church of England in Hobart had there been such harmony and unity of purpose. The Mission services were

37. C.N., April 1875, May 1875.

packed. The cathedral congregation responded extremely well to Curwen Campbell who was a man of "rare power and spirituality". Banks Smith pronounced the Missions as "surpassing in response our wildest expectations". Soon afterwards, Bromby issued a Pastoral Letter, seeking an extension of Missions to other parts of the Diocese, and a more united "family effort"³⁸ in matters both spiritual and financial. Probably more than anything else, the Missions helped to allay the early controversies centred on the new cathedral. Moreover, they gave impetus to the cathedral's own Mission movement in "Wapping", a poor, detached part of the parish whose residents "for one reason or another do not come to our regular church-services". Sunday Schools also became a vogue from this time, in Tasmania.

Controversies based on churchmanship subsided in 1876 and 1877. Stackhouse died at St Leonard's in June 1876, having resigned Longford the previous April. He had been once a chaplain in the service of the East India Company, and had come to Tasmania from Bombay in 1840. In January 1877, William Valentine died. "His good works, kind-heartedness and generosity will, or at least ought to be, well remembered," wrote Nixon, "when his theological caprices will have ceased to be remembered - or at any rate spoken of as conscientious monomaniacal vagaries, in no way connected with the heart. That really good man was certainly a theological squinter: he³⁹ sees straight enough now." The following June, W. H. Browne died in

38. C.N., April 1875, May 1875.

39. Nixon/Davenport, 11 May 1877, quoted N. Nixon, op cit, p 59 et seq.

Launceston. Canon Hales succeeded him as Archdeacon in the North. Thus, the outstanding leaders of the evangelical cause had gone. Moreover, the younger Bromby left for Christchurch, New Zealand, in 1877 to conduct a Mission there.

Bromby took advantage of the diocesan peace to turn to social problems. The deplorable conditions of some sections of Tasmanian society forced the Tasmanian Church to advance albeit not always successfully, its schemes for "houses of mercy", a ministry to the insane, a Sailors' Home, Temperance Societies and the public religious education of the young. In respect to education, Bromby stressed the necessity of establishing a normal school for the training of Christian teachers and of granting more power to local Education Boards in districts where it was at all possible to levy a local education rate.

During the years 1872:1876 Bromby's diocesan thinking was influenced by events beyond Tasmania. The "Regulation of Public Worship" Bill was introduced into the Imperial Parliament in May 1874 by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It aimed to repress the extravagances of some of the more "advanced" clergy. As law, it "armed the Bishops, each in his own diocese, with prompt, easy, cheap, summary, peremptory powers of interfering in all details of public worship, by entertaining complaints, adjudging questions of fact and legal interpretation, and inflicting suspension for disobedience"⁴⁰. Two years earlier, Lord Blackford's "Colonial Clergy" Bill, granting virtual independence to Colonial Churches, became law. The Blackford Act gave

40. Guardian, May 1874.

English and Colonially - ordained clergy equality of preferment rights, and abolished the necessity for colonial bishops, upon consecration, to give oaths of canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury rather than to Provincial Primates. Any obedience due to Canterbury must henceforth be through a voluntary act of the Colonial Church.

The measure had considerable significance for Bromby. By Dobson's motion at the 1874 Synod, the Tasmanian Church accepted, as its own, any judgment of the Privy Council upon disputed rubrics. To this Bromby gave his sanction for two reasons: first, because it was "a virtual acknowledgment that we were not a priori bound by such judgments as we should be if the Colonial Church were not independent; second, because it was "the easiest method open to us for protecting ourselves against any abuse of our independence during the dangerous period of our youth".⁴¹

Bromby's reaction to the "Colonial Clergy Act" was to aim at enhancing diocesan stability and consolidating the power of an independent Australian Church, bound by ties of loyalty and affection to the Mother Church. He saw the extension of his "cathedral idea" as essential to the fulfilment of this aim. He justly ridiculed the idea of a handful of men Romanizing the Church and people of England. "If it had been possible in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries," wrote Bromby, "it is hopeless in the nineteenth, when for the old boast of semper eadem has been substituted a policy of violence and change of faith, a renunciation of moral and mental freedom,

41. C.N., March 1876.

and a repudiation of modern thought and of ancient history." ⁴² Comprehensiveness was the thing. And the home and example of comprehensiveness must be the cathedral.

Having encouraged the healthy example of cathedral tolerance, Bromby hoped for a wider diocesan tolerance and, in turn, financial well-being. The healthy diocese should be subordinate to the healthy province, the province to the Church of Australia and that again, in common with sister Churches, to the Patriarchate of Canterbury, as the principal seat, not of an Established Church, but of an Anglo-Saxon nationality. ⁴³ Such was Bromby's dream. He went, with high hopes, to the General Synod held in Sydney in 1876. Delegates were to discuss the problems of the Australian Church in its relation to local Provinces and the Church in England. However, legislation was limited to the passing of Rules for the formation of new dioceses in Australia and Tasmania. Bromby was disappointed. He knew his dream for the Church of the future would not be fulfilled in his time. He doubted if it would ever materialize. He lost confidence in General Synod.

Had Bromby not been hindered by his son's ambition and partisanship his episcopate might have seen the beginnings, in Tasmania, of his dream's fulfilment. His statesmanship failed because it was attempted at a time when the Ritualistic controversy within the whole Church of England made his ideal almost impossible of achievement. Moreover, he had to work in the context of Tasmanian contingency. His conception of Christianity as re-

42. C.N., April 1875.

43. Bromby/Sir William Stawell, quoted Church of England Messenger, Melbourne, August 1875; C.N., September 1875.

vealed through the Anglican Church was blurred by partisanship and colonialism, and distorted by filial selfishness.

See-House and "Bishopscourt"

If the Diocese required a worthy Cathedral, so also it needed a Bishop's House. Bromby set to work to provide one.

Despite Nixon's and Davies' appeals, neither the Church nor the Government had supplied a Bishop's House for Tasmania. Early in his episcopate, Nixon had approached Earl ~~Gray~~ for help. Negotiations had broken down when Hutchins died. Nixon himself had been handicapped by the lack of an official home. First, he had a cottage in the grounds of Government House, Hobart and then "a place near Mr. Bicheno's" at Sandy Bay. Later he acquired "Runnymede" at New Town, just out of Hobart. He called the house "Bishopstowe". When Nixon left Tasmania, "Bishopstowe" was sold and all its contents dispersed. The organ went to Campbell Town.

When Bromby and his family arrived in Hobart, they lived first at R. Q. Kermode's house in Macquarie Street, and then moved to a house at the corner of Davey and Antill Streets which had belonged to G. W. Walker. Bromby persuaded the 1865 Synod to try to raise funds for a Bishop's residence. Synod authorised an application to Parliament for permission to sell some of the New Town Glebe.⁴⁴ In 1869, Bromby rented a house in spacious grounds in Fitzroy Place, Hobart. He called the property "Bishopscourt". It had been owned by one John White who had purchased it from the original owner, William

44. D.S.T., 1865.

Robertson, in 1862. As Bromby's tenure of the property was uncertain, he asked the Diocese to purchase it. In 1870, the Bishop offered to part with £200 of his official income for the purpose of securing a Bishop's residence. His offer was virtually ignored. In 1876, he renewed the offer. "If the residence were purchased for £2,000," wrote Bromby, "I would join any effort for the raising of half the sum, on the condition that the Synod consented to advance the other £1,000 in debentures upon the security of the site and building."⁴⁵ A Select Committee was appointed by Synod. Bromby wrote:

"As years roll on, and the term of my own episcopate must sensibly contract, I should be sorry to contemplate its possible termination with no effort having been previously made for the supply of this manifest want."⁴⁶

In 1876, White sold the "Bishopscourt" property to one Dobson, probably Henry Dobson. Although there is nothing in the deeds to indicate it, the purchase was made on behalf of the Church. In 1877, the Select Committee of Synod reported the purchase, made an appeal for the "Bishop's House Fund" and accepted Bromby's offer. Thus once more, through considerable personal sacrifice, Bromby had achieved something for the advantage of the Tasmanian Church. Mrs Bromby called the years 1865:1869 "years of uncertain dwelling". However, from 1869, "Bishopscourt", Fitzroy Place, became a model of established family living. The original house no longer exists as such; subsequent Bishops added to or altered the original structure. But Bromby's "Bishopscourt" provided "a happy, simple and continuous hospitality."⁴⁷

45. C.N., March 1876.

46. ibid.

47. All Saints, Clifton, Parish Magazine, 1 July 1907.

No appointments to see the Bishop were ever needed. Although the Mercury sometimes sneered at "the Bishops court coterie", the "influence which sprang from the home permeated the whole colony". Nixon's dwelling had been "the dream centre for musicians and artists". Bromby's "a place where a sense of humour played".

"Bishops court" exerted its greatest influence during the Cathedral era. Mrs Bromby made the home a diocesan one. Hospitable and gracious, the Bishop's wife gave welcome to the clergy and their wives and "to other people of note". Officers from visiting ships almost invariably called at "Bishops court". If the welcome were generous, the entertaining was precise. Punctuality and decorum marked the "Bishops court" receptions. No finger of criticism, no wave of social ostracism, could ever be directed to "Bishops court". Particularly was Mrs. Bromby concerned for her family. She provided peace and solitude for her husband and her three sons. It was easy to think at "Bishops court," easier still to pray. The younger Bromby recalled how he liked to sit in his attic to read, and kneel there to pray, "chiefly because I could hear the quiet peaceful sound of your voices beneath me". The Bishop found solace at "Bishops court". He was often tired, his rather weak voice required frequent rests, his sensitive spirit brought bouts of nervous exhaustion. Moreover, he was a thinker and dreamer. "Bishops court" with its sloping gardens, and its glorious view across hills and waters, was for Bromby a haven of peace. He did well to buy it for Hobart and bequeath it to the Church of the future.

At "Bishops court", Mrs Bromby, the Bishop and Dean had with them



Mary Anne Bromby (nee Bodley),

1874.

Gertrude, "Minna" Agnes, Edith, William and later, Charles. As these children entered adulthood, they exerted a strong influence in the Cathedral city. Gertrude was devout, a close companion of Henry. She kept house for him in Hobart for eleven years. Ellen, who was always called "Minna", married John Crittenden Mace, of Buckland district in the southern arch-deaconry. Their family of five children added a gaiety to "Bishopscourt," a gaiety which, in after years, the Bishop was frequently to recall. Mace was eventually ordained. He assisted the younger Bromby at the Cathedral, was assistant Registrar of the Diocese, and during the family's absence in England in 1880:1881, he acted as Registrar and custodian of the Bishop's home.

Agnes and Edith remained unmarried. They became indefatigable workers in the "Wapping" Mission district and in the Cathedral Sunday Schools, where they both taught and directed the music. Agnes Bromby also instructed night classes at the Cathedral Parish Schools, where she was singularly successful.

Charles Hamilton, the second son, did not arrive in Hobart until December 1874. Having received his early education at the Cheltenham College and St Edmund's Hall, Oxford, he had become a student in the Inner Temple on 7 June 1864, just prior to his family's coming to Tasmania. He had been called to the Bar on 18 November 1867. In Tasmania, he decided to settle in the North, so stayed but irregularly at "Bishopscourt". He was M.H.A. for Launceston 1876:1877 and for Longford 1877:1878. He became Attorney General in T.H. Reibey's Ministry and a member of the Executive

Council 20 July 1876: 9 August 1877. He was admitted a member of the New South Wales Bar in 1881.

The youngest surviving son, William Mollison, added a touch of gentle mysticism to the home. He wrote poetry and grew hops. William had a farm at New Norfolk, near Hobart. He married the daughter of R. V. Legge, of Cullenswood in the northern archdeaconry. In 1879, he started a Preparatory School in Hobart, which was ultimately, housed at "Thornycroft" in Macquarie Street. William was a very successful teacher: parents wrote of him - "His aim seemed to be to make Christian gentlemen"; "I can never feel grateful enough for the moral influence he exercised". He died in June 1881, a young man of thirty-three. He was buried with his infant daughter in Sandy Bay. The relatives who most frequently visited "Bishopscourt" were from Melbourne. "Uncle John" came often. He retired from the Headmastership of Melbourne Grammar School at the beginning of 1875. He took charge of St John's, Toorak, Melbourne, during W. Fellows' absence in England. A man of great energy, wisdom and learning, it was widely rumoured that he succeed C. Perry as Bishop of Melbourne. His son, Christopher, was ordained and served in Tasmania, where he was stationed at All Saints' Hobart.

Such was the "Bishopscourt" of Charles and Mary Bromby. "I am proud of my family," said the Bishop, "and, setting aside my relationship, and trying to look at them as strangers, I think they deserve commendation."

The Miscellanea of Administration

Bromby had heard of Nixon's unsuccessful attempts to foster a col-

48. Launceston Examiner, 2 March 1880.

lege, called Christ's College, in Tasmania. The College aimed at providing "superior education" in accordance with the principles of the Church of England. It also instructed candidates for the Ministry. For reasons already mentioned the college failed. Bromby planned to re-open it.

Before he left England, Bromby announced his intention of attaching Christ's College to his planned cathedral. He would use it as a theological college to train indigenous clergy. These men would receive practical training at the cathedral, where they would serve curacies, and work amongst the poor in "Wapping". The divinity lecturers would be Cathedral canons; the students would form the nucleus of a cathedral choir.

Although the "objects of the college trust" made Bromby's schemes impracticable, the Bishop determined to re-open the College in Hobart. First he would wait until the College estate was free of debt. However, "by the time the College had been cleared of debt, the need for helping the two Grammar Schools was beginning to be felt, and proposals were mooted for linking them up in some way with Christ's College. This provoked a great deal of discussion as to the actual objects of the original 'trust' and also opposition to removal of the College to Hobart. On inquiry, it was found that there was no genuine declaration of trust, at all, and no power to appoint trustees. Some inquiry as to the title and position of scholarships was needed and some better system of management of the College affairs."⁴⁹

The matter was taken to the Supreme Court in 1874:75. Bromby reported to Synod in March 1875. The Court was amazed at the absence of any

49. W. R. Barrett, op cit, p 25.

trust-deed, or legal documents, defining the objects and scope of the institution. Even the original trustees did not seem to have had any formal or legal appointment, and the trust-deeds, by authority of which their successors acted, were not executed until May 1859, that is, three years after the closing of the College. Said Bromby:

"The highest Equity Court of the land alone is competent to determine, from informal pamphlets and appeals for subscriptions which were circulated previously to, and immediately after, the opening of the College, what scheme will virtually carry out the intention of its originators."⁵⁰

Bromby, as Visitor of the College, armed by a resolution of Synod, endeavoured to carry out the intention of the original subscribers, and obtain from the Parliament an Act of Incorporation. However, the measure was "unwisely opposed", and attempts were even made by the Bishop's enemies to prejudice the minds of members of Parliament. After the withdrawal of the Bill from Parliament, Bromby consulted with some "eminent lay-members of Synod and others" and prepared a Scheme and Constitution, making early correspondence the basis.

The general features of Bromby's new scheme were:

- "(1) the provision of superior and technical education, except that for Holy Orders, for every member of the community, of whatever creed;
- (2) the restoration of the Scholarship funds which had been absorbed in the general debts of the College;
- (3) assimilation, as to exterior government, to those institutions which had received their constitutions from the High Court of Chancery, and the consequent accommodation to the wants of the present age of colonial life."⁵¹

50. C.N., April 1875.

51. C.N., December 1876.

His principal alterations were that the functions of the Bishop were to be more purely visitatorial; a Council, half clerical and half lay, was to be invested with larger governing powers; and the duties of the Trustees were to be made simply ministerial. The "scheme" was sanctioned by the Supreme Court in 1876 with but few variations: the Governing Body was to be elected by Synod after nomination by the Bishop, and the Hutchins School was not to be united organically to Christ's College.

In 1878, a committee of the College Council "doubted the wisdom of entering into competition with existing institutions and was of opinion that before re-opening, the major part of the income should be set aside for some years for the purchase of its own premises"⁵². At Bromby's instigation, the full Council disregarded this opinion. An English commission, authorised to select a Warden, eventually nominated Rev. J. C. Whall, M.A. of Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge. Christ's College was re-opened in 1879 in a rented house in upper Macquarie Street, Hobart.

Bromby was disappointed at the turn of events. He wrote:

"Great expectations were formed by its original founders. I fear that those expectations are doomed to disappointment, so far as they relate to the love of learning for its own sake which it was intended to excite."⁵³

The struggle for existence and the devotion to material interests, inseparable from a new community, made such expectations to any extent futile. The experiment, from the point of view of theological training, was not successful. The financial position was precarious. "There were never more than three

52. W. R. Barrett, op cit, p 25.

53. C.N., February 1880:

theological students or seven general students in the College". The Council wanted to close it down; but another Equity Suit was threatened. The Attorney-General advised converting the College into an ordinary school, and so Christ's College became another grammar school, but without J. C. Whall as its headmaster. Whall had resigned and returned to England. His successor, Rev. T. Thistle, M.A., Oxford, carried on until after Bromby's day. Ultimately the school failed, and closed in 1891.

Bromby's intention had been immediately thwarted. He had hoped to feed the diocese with a steady flow of graduates from the theological section of Christ's College. Also, he had seen that the College should be made in some measure to fit in with the educational scheme of the State, "which necessarily looked to the secular and material advancement of the population". Bromby regarded the existing Council of Education as an embryo University, which should grant scholarships both to the English Universities and to selected faculties established in such institutions as Christ's College. Moreover, he had already ascertained that the S.P.C.K. would grant towards the maintenance of students preparing for Holy Orders.⁵⁴ Bromby was indeed a far-seeing and an enlightened educationist. He could not win support from officialdom. Once more he proved himself ahead of his time. What he did, in fact, was to predict Christ's College's place as both a theological college and University College, and encourage his successors to think of the College as a training ground for Tasmanian clergy.

⁵⁴. *ibid.*

Bromby hoped that all parishes would take their lead from his Cathedral, but not only in doctrinal matters. To cope with decreases in finances, following the commutation of State Aid, he aimed to amalgamate cures, placing them under one incumbent with one or more Cathedral-trained curates, who would expect little remuneration, as assistants.

In 1874, a Committee of Synod, under the chairmanship of R. R. Davies, recommended that each archdeaconry should be divided into ten principal rural parishes or cures, assuming that about £1,000 per annum would be available for distribution in the rural districts of each archdeaconry, and that from £100 to £150 would be granted in aid of the stipend of each Incumbent. The recommendation was to be carried into effect whenever vacancies occurred. Curates should be placed with Incumbents, as their assistants. Until these curates were trained for their tasks, one or more itinerant 55
clergymen or missionaries should be appointed, and paid from the Ripon Fund. The 1875 Synod agreed to an amended amalgamation of cures, suggesting twelve centres for the rural parts of each archdeaconry. A missionary chaplain 56
should be immediately appointed by the Bishop. However, when such amalgamation was attempted, the parishioners objected. Moreover, other difficulties appeared: (1) the maintenance of cures in Hobart and Launceston; (2) parochial representatives in Synod; (3) differing systems of patronage; and (4) endowments. In respect to patronage, Davenport sought a revision in the 1876 Synod, and Bromby himself insisted that the Parishioners, Bishop and

55. C.N., October 1874.

56. D.S.T., 1875.

Synod itself should all be represented on future Boards of Patronage. The other difficulties were, apparently, insurmountable.

Bromby's plan for the amalgamation of cures failed in essence, despite the large number of vacancies that occurred through retirements and deaths. However, he continued with his policy of "training under his own eye" suitable clergymen, whom he tried to place advantageously.

Between 1873 and 1882, Bromby ordained fifteen men. Most of them did their training at the cathedral under the Bishop's supervision and the delegated authority of the Dean. Moreover, Bromby introduced into the diocese thirteen priests from England and eleven from the nearby Australian dioceses. When he was in England in 1880:1881, Bromby arranged for six additional clergymen to serve in Tasmania; he ordained one of them, J. G. Morling, in York Minster in December 1880 under a commission from the Archbishop of York.⁵⁷ Many of the clergy, who had worked for many years in Tasmania, died about this time. Dr. Parsons died in November 1876, Irwin in May 1879 and Davies in November 1880. Davies had served the diocese for a little over fifty years. Davenport succeeded him as Archdeacon of Hobart. The canonry thus made vacant was judiciously offered to Banks Smith.

Bromby had worked hard to provide an adequate supply of clergy. He chose them carefully for colonial conditions. Few disciplinary problems

57. Diocese of Tasmania, Registrar of Licences and Consecrations, Vol. III.

58

occurred in rural areas. Hobart seemed to be the main ecclesiastical storm-centre at this time. Bromby's correspondence with country clergy and laity alike showed an increasing depth of pastoral insight and spiritual understanding. Such qualities were often sadly lacking in his earlier letters.

Innumerable Synodical schemes had been tried to consolidate diocesan finances. The 1877 Synod adopted two further means to strengthen the General Church Fund. The first was the establishment of a Diocesan Church Society; the second was the appointment of a clergyman to act as organising secretary of the General Church Fund. As the Cathedral was to be the centre of the spiritual life, so Bromby hoped the Church Society would be the powerhouse of diocesan finances. Through its central committee based on the cathedral, Bromby hoped to pay all clergy, and make all necessary grants to parishes or churches. The committee of finance in each archdeaconry was to make reports to the central committee. Parishes were to have their own associations, and parishioners who paid six shillings a year would be members of the Society. T. H. Hughes was appointed first secretary. However, he left for Adelaide soon afterwards. C. Vaughan also did good work for the

58. Vide: Mercury, 5 May 1874, for troubles at Richmond and Ross;

and Bp's L.B: Bromby/Edwards, 8 December 1875;
Bromby/Barkway, 8 May 1877;
Bromby/Gaunt, 2 June 1877;
Bromby/Dixon, 15 June 1877;
Bromby/Banks Smith 9 August 1877;
Bromby/Newstead, 10 November 1879.

Society, and the two Archdeacons undertook canvassing.

The scheme met with but poor response. Parishes were too exclusively concerned with their own affairs. They could not rise to glimpse the diocesan vision which Bromby presented to them. Bromby himself undertook further extensive travelling to explain the purpose of the Society. He preached the "diocesan cause" at every opportunity. The modicum of success that was attained was due greatly to the Bishop's vigour. Where he was unable to raise funds for the central committee, he was often able to enthuse parishioners to local building. During the Cathedral era, Bromby effected the following consecrations:

Constitution Hill, St Anne's, 1876.
Deloraine, Chancel of St Mark's, 1878.
Evandale, St Andrew's, 1872.
Fingal, St Peter's, 1877.
Bridgewater, St Mary's, 1873.
Longford, Christ Church, 1882.
Montagu, St George's, 1878.
Northdown, St James', 1879.
Perth, St Andrew's, 1879.
Swansea, All Saints', 1873.
Hobart, St David's, 1874.
Torquay, St Paul's, 1882.
Tea Tree, St Thomas's, 1882.

59

A new "Synod Hall and Parish School" was opened in Hobart on 20 July 1879. There the Church's Parliament, which Bromby had worked unsparingly to foster, could meet in reasonable comfort and within easy reach of his new cathedral.

English Interlude.

In 1880, after fifteen uninterrupted years in Tasmania, Bromby de-



Back Row - L. to R. Revs. J. Chambers, G. W. Shoobridge, A. R. Beresford, C. J. Brammall, T. McDowell,
C. W. Power, J. Evans, J. G. Morling, C. Vaughan.
Middle Row. E. H. Curwen, H. R. Finnis, L. T. Terleton, J. K. Wilmer, R. D. P. Harris, H. W. Hugill,
C. F. L'Oste, J. W. H. L'Oste, J. C. Mace, A. Wayn, J. M. Norman.
Front Row. W. F. Mitchell, J. W. H. Geiss, Canon G. Banks Smith, Archdeacon Hale, Bishop
C. H. Bromby, Dean H. B. Bromby, Canon M. B. Brownrigg, Canon E. P. Adams, W. W. F.
Murray.

Bishop and Clergy,

1882.

cided to take leave. Constant travelling and diocesan concerns had affected his health. Moreover, his spirit was maimed by personal frustration, thwarted hopes and "colonial misunderstanding". He wanted to return to England, ostensibly for refreshment but actually to investigate the possibility of appropriate retirement. His son, who had conducted two Missions in New Zealand in 1877 and 1879, wanted to go with him. Cathedral controversies were festering again. Bromby appointed his Commissaries - Hales in the North and Davenport in the South - and asked the 1880 Synod to investigate the possibility of appointing a co-adjutor "of the Bishop's own choice" to work in Launceston upon his return. Further, the Bishop advised his Synod to provide for a vacancy in the See.

The prospect of returning to England was exciting. Wrote the younger Bromby on 21 January 1880:

"At last the long looked-for day arrives when I can very thankfully write the words 'I am coming home - we are coming home'. For indeed we have almost made every arrangement to leave here at the end of February or the beginning of March. The Bishop, my Mother and the three girls are coming. Is it not too delightful? Laus Deo."⁶⁰

In Hobart, six hundred people farewelled the Bishop. With his family, Bromby left Launceston in S. S. Flinders on 26 February 1880. In Melbourne, the Bishop stayed with his brother, then incumbent of St Paul's. He conferred with Moorhouse about the new St Paul's Cathedral, the foundation stone of which was to be laid by the Marquis of Normanby on 13 April. On 5 March 1880, the family left Melbourne in the B. & O. R.M.S. Deccan. Adelaide was

60. J. H. B. Mace, op cit, p 79.

the first port of call. There, a carriage and pair sped the Bishop and Dean from Glenelg to "Bishopscourt" where Short discussed Church politics and showed his new cathedral which was then in course of construction.

Soon, the Bromby family were in the tropical heat, enjoying the "Punkah wallah" treatment of "swinging great fans". The Bishop visited a children's orphanage in Ceylon, where one of his old Cheltenham students was the missionary. He presided at Missionary meetings in Bombay.

In England, both Bishop and Dean travelled extensively, furthering Tasmanian diocesan interests. They were never idle. They wrote, lectured or preached at Brighton, London, Cambridge, Leeds, York, Hull, Scarborough, Lichfield, Leicester and Cheltenham. Cheltenham students gave Bromby an attentive home-coming. At his old church, St Paul's, Bromby preached to crowded congregations, whilst his son investigated Ritual and preached at choral festivals in the Isle of Ely.⁶¹ From October 1880: April 1881 both father and son were at St Mary's, Scarborough, where Bromby took the place of one Blunt, Archdeacon of the East Riding.⁶² Six churches were based on St Mary's, representing a diversity of churchmanship. Even in such short time, the Bishop endeared himself to Scarborough; he left with donations of £200 for his colonial diocese.⁶³ In addition to his Scarborough work, Bromby confirmed for the Bishop of Ripon, and laid the foundation stone of St Philip's Church, Hull, with which church he had been connected in its infant

61. Cheltenham Examiner, 26 May 1880.

62. Cambridge Chronicle, 5 June 1880.

63. Hull and Eastern Counties' Herald, 19 April 1881.

⁶⁴
years.

The legal position of future Tasmanian Bishops was of concern to Bromby. In South Africa, a Suit Merriman v Williams, had been instituted by the Bishop of Graham's Town, against Dean Williams of St George's Cathedral, "praying for a declaration of the plaintiff's rights, as Bishop of Graham's Town, in respect of the Cathedral Church of St George, in that city, and for an interdict to restrain the defendant from interfering with those rights, and from performing any ecclesiastical functions within the limits
⁶⁵
of the diocese of Graham's Town."

The Dean, claiming property rights, had refused the Bishop permission to preach at his option in the Cathedral. The Supreme Court of the Cape Colony gave judgment for the Dean on the grounds of the invalidity in South Africa of the Bishop's Letters Patent.

The implication of this judgment for Tasmania was that any future Bishop, not appointed by the Crown and not consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, would not be a successor, to Bishop Bromby. The terms of Bromby's Letters Patent were exactly similar to those of the Bishop of Graham's Town. The Editor of the Church News wrote:

"Inasmuch as the Church in Tasmania has adopted the principle of local election and consecration by Colonial Bishops, we think that there should be legislation by Parliament upon the subject, - legislation that will put beyond question the

64. Hull and Eastern Counties' Herald, 2 June 1881.

65. C.N., December 1880.

status of our future Bishops, and leave no doubt as to the title of the lands with which the See of Tasmania is endowed....."66

Such legislation was found necessary in neighbouring and similarly situated dioceses.

Bromby sought advice. On 20 May 1881, he wrote to the Earl of Kimberley, Secretary of State for the Colonies. Kimberley's reply was dated 14 June 1881:

".....it will be for the Anglican Communion in Tasmania to consider what course they would pursue in the event of a vacancy in the See; and that whilst his Lordship appreciates your desire to make timely arrangements in order to prevent future embarrassments, yet he cannot undertake to advise you, as it is not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to make any further appointments to the See of Tasmania, nor can they interfere with the internal affairs of the Colony....."67

Bromby acknowledged this letter as "the first official communication to the Church in Tasmania of the abandonment of the patronage which was originally claimed by the Crown". However, Bromby did not counsel Tasmanian parliamentary legislation. Rather he wanted Synodical action. Bromby recalled that, as far back as 1 October 1873, a despatch through Governor Du Cane from the Secretary of State requested an opinion upon Lord Blackford's Bill, which sought to meet this difficulty by Imperial legislation. Bromby had then expressed the opinion, in which the Attorney-General concurred, that

"whatever doubt may exist, if there be any, affecting the right of my successors who will not hold my Letters Patent, may, I imagine, be removed by a Resolution of our own Synod, which exercises power given to it by the Act 22 Victoria No.

66. ibid.

67. {for Earl of Kimberley/Bromby, -
 quoted C.N., December 1881.

20, or, if the necessity appear, by an Act of the Colonial parliament".⁶⁸

Bromby continued to press his anti-Erastian views. In a letter to the Church News, dated from Lichfield, 5 May 1881, he had urged Synod not to seek local parliamentary legislation respecting Tasmanian episcopal rights "until we know the exact position in which we stand as the result of successive judgments of the Privy Council".⁶⁹ Bromby believed that what was needed was rather a declarative statement from the legal officers of the Crown that it had abdicated two claims: the one to invest colonial bishops, the other to nominate them. Meanwhile, local legislation should be avoided "lest it tend to curtail our future church liberties". Bromby adopted the same attitude in his pamphlet Thoughts on the Present Crisis (Lond., 1881), which he addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

One other matter attracted Bromby in England. He had become involved in the "Toleration" Movement in respect to Anglican churchmanship. The Dean of St Paul's, London, had presented a multi-signed Memorial to the Archbishop of Canterbury as a plea for doctrinal tolerance. Immediately Bishop C. Perry, formerly Bishop of Melbourne but now Canon of Llandaff, addressed a Counter-Memorial which pleaded tolerance but only for the "reformed position". Bromby wrote a sympathetic yet logical analysis of Perry's Memorial.⁷⁰ In it, he emphasized his favourite doctrine of "comprehensiveness". His approach was well received by liberal English Churchmen. Later Bromby

68. C.N., December 1881.

69. C.N., July 1881.

70. Guardian, 5 February 1881.

wrote:

"There is very little, if any, real disloyalty abroad to the fundamental principles of the Reformed and truly Catholic Church of our forefathers. Bitterness and party-spirit are subsiding, and there never was a time when the Church had so firm a hold upon the affections and sympathy of the nation."⁷¹

Before the Bishop left England to return to Australia in July 1881, he made an urgent public appeal for funds to complete his Hobart cathedral and provide more clergy for the newly-opened rural and mining centres in northern Tasmania. There was little response to this appeal, although the younger Bromby was given £500 towards the cost of his Mission church in "Wapping".⁷² The Bishop and family returned to Hobart on 3 November 1881. Gertrude and Agnes stayed in England, which was indicative of the Bishop's intention.

Tasmanian Farewell

Soon after his return, Bromby was speaking of resigning. In Lichfield, he had met W. D. Maclagan, the new Bishop of that diocese, and the Bishop had sought his services as co-adjutor. It only remained for a satisfactory living to become available. In January 1882, the offer came. Maclagan asked Bromby to accept the Cure of Shrawardine-cum-Montford, near Shrewsbury. The parish, in the living of the Earl of Powis, consisted of two villages, within one and a half miles of each other, containing only 600 inhabitants. Thus, Bromby could also act as Co-adjutor Bishop of the

71. C.N., July 1881.

72. Guardian, 23 June 1881.

Lichfield Diocese. Two co-adjutors served the Diocese.

Bromby determined to accept the appointment. He announced this intention to his Council of Advice on 3 March 1882. On 28 March 1882, Bromby sent a "Notice of resignation" to the Board of Electors.⁷³ The Board could not accept it, for both J. McIntyre, Barrister, and H. Dobson, Church Solicitor, decided that the "notice of resignation" was not a legal resignation. For reasons already given, and against Bromby's earlier advice, an application to Parliament was made for an Act investing the Synod with full powers to elect its Bishops. After much correspondence with authorities in Tasmania, Sydney and England,⁷⁴ even Bromby saw an approach to the local Parliament as the only appropriate course to pursue if he wished to resign the Tasmanian episcopate and go to Lichfield.

A Bill was prepared to explain and amend "The Church of England Constitution Act", 22 Victoria No. 20. "The Church of England Constitution Amendment Act" (No 2) was passed by the Tasmanian Parliament on 21 August 1882, gave Synod definite power over the appointment and resignation of Bishops and other Church office-bearers. Clause 5 gave means of diocesan oversight during a See vacancy or the absence of a Bishop. Other clauses provided that property vested in a Bishop under his Letters Patent, and property "at present held by the Archdeacon, or any Archdeacon, or retired Archdeacon" should henceforth be vested in Church Trustees.

73. Vide W. R. Barrett, op cit, p 29 et seq., for composition of Board of Electors and "Resolution relating to a vacancy in the See".

74. See Bp's L.B., 1882.

A special adjourned session of Synod was held in August 1882, and the new legal powers were used. A motion, moved by Banks Smith, seconded by Hales, and supported by Brownrigg and Norman, delegated the election of a new Bishop to a Commission "consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester (Dr Harold Brown⁷⁵), Durham (Dr. Lightfoot), Rochester (Dr Thorold) and Bedford (Dr Walsham Howe), and Bishop Bromby". Another resolution provided that a Bishop could retire, under Synod's conditions and terms, when he had reached the age of sixty-five, but only if he had held the See for a full period of fifteen years. A pension of £200 was provided for one retired Bishop if his official English income did not exceed £700 per annum. Bromby asked his son, in the absence of Davenport, to be Commissary in the South during the vacancy in the See, but his son refused. Canon Bailey was therefore appointed Commissary in the South and Archdeacon Hales in the North. With the Bishop's consent, Synod then asked the younger Bromby to act as Administrator of the Diocese, but once more he declined. He had good reason to do so. A move was afoot to make him Bishop.

At the August session of Synod, Bromby reviewed his episcopate. The condition of the diocese in general was satisfactory. There had been a considerable increase in the number of clergy. Bromby had ordained twenty-one men; of the fifty-two clergy in the diocese, he had introduced thirty-seven. The northern part of the Colony, growing in importance as an active scene of mineral and agricultural developments, was serviced by "busy and

75. D.S.T., 1882.

76. C.N., September 1882.

valuable priests". In 1864, the North-West Coast had only one ordained clergyman; in 1882, there were four, soon to be five. Ultimately, ten clergymen came to Tasmania as a result of the Bishop's appeal in England. Bromby was leaving no single parish "without a shepherd", and to maintain the clergy, the Bishop hoped to select an organising Secretary for the languishing Church Society as soon as he returned to England.

Bromby had set himself four main objects: (1) the establishment of a cathedral; (2) the provision of a Bishop's residence; (3) the settlement of the State-Aid question; (4) the re-opening of Christ's College on a potentially satisfactory basis. "All these objects," said Bromby "have been accomplished by Divine blessing."

Moreover, there had been noticeable extension in Tasmania in the places and state of worship. Thirty-four lovely churches had been built, many of them had been consecrated, and six more were either in course of erection or about to begin. The ~~privy~~ Council's Ridsdale Judgment had overruled the decision in *Hebbert v Purchas*, the outcome being that the priest's position when consecrating the elements was no longer legally of great import. Doctrinal interpretation had also become more liberal. Moorehouse, the ~~New~~ Bishop of Melbourne, was showing himself as yet another champion of the "comprehensive cause", and this gave strength to Bromby's Tasmanian hope. Still, Bromby believed that the position of St David's Cathedral and its due relation to diocese and parish needed to be re-examined. Despite his disappointment in respect to Christ's College, he had nevertheless trained his clergy. In addition, his Missions had invigorated Hobart's

spiritual life, and his scheme for religious instruction in government schools had been accepted by the authorities. With Bromby's encouragement,⁷⁷ Brownrigg had consolidated mission work in the Furneaux Islands. Bromby had fostered the Diocesan Synod and done what he could to further the General Synodical cause. He had been to Sydney, once for mutual consultation and twice to attend General Synod. He had worked for Church unity along the lines of Anglican comprehensiveness, and had sought an acknowledgement of the independence of the "Australian Church", an acknowledgement given at the⁷⁸ most recent Pan-Anglican Conference at Lambeth. Bromby had also supported the Temperance cause. Only an adequate solution to the diocesan financial problem was needed, plus greater tolerance and inter-dependence among churchmen throughout the diocese.

Bromby's departure from Tasmania was singularly quiet. He was conventionally farewelled in St David's Schoolroom, Hobart, on 1 September 1882. On 3 September; he preached in St David's for the last time; and on 4 September, he left Hobart for Launceston by express train. In Launceston, he stayed with Hales. On 5 September, he left Launceston for Melbourne per S. S. Flinders; and, on 12 September, sailed from Melbourne for England in the R.M.S. Clyde. In Adelaide, the Governor entertained the Bishop. On his return trip to England, Bromby passed through the Suez Canal for the first time. On other occasions, they had, of necessity, crossed the desert. On 1 November 1882, the Church News announced:

77. Vide C.N., February 1877.

78. C.N., January 1879.

"We have been authorised by telegram, received from Archdeacon Hales, just as we go to press, to state that the Bishop has resigned. The See of Tasmania, therefore, is now vacant."

The Bishop and Mrs. Bromby had wanted their son to go home with them. The younger Bromby found the temptation very strong. He was "filled with grief" at the thought of separation. Also he was tired of fighting. "I say fighting," he said, "because I have had a good deal of trouble lately with a noisy...and compact minority of the congregation." Some "Puritans" had objected to a move to influence the Board of Electors in favour of the younger Bromby as the next Bishop.⁷⁹ The same group complained publicly⁸⁰ when the Dean sought a Ritualist as third priest at the Cathedral. The younger Bromby declaimed that he "refused, indignantly refused, to be held responsible for his actions to a miserable coterie of purely local Tasmanian churchmen who, in his opinion, in no way represented the Church at large". There was a new outcry against "Brombyism".

In January 1883, the younger Bromby told his "leading Puritans" that he was about to introduce the "legal ornaments" on the Cathedral altar. There was "a good deal of mild excitement". Bromby also informed his people that, if they wanted him to stay, he must work on his own lines. Objections prevailed, particularly when Bromby clashed with Hales over the erection of a stone altar at St Mary's Church, Triabunna. Moreover, Bromby persisted in

79. Mercury, 18 March 1882.

80. Mercury, 17 June 1882.

his plan to introduce "ritualistic changes" at St David's Cathedral. Much correspondence of a critical and even scurrilous kind appeared in the Mercury during 1883. In October, Bromby wanted to exchange with the former Dean, F. H. Cox, with whom he had stayed briefly in England. He felt the parishioners would welcome a more moderate Churchman. A group of parishioners prevailed on Bromby to stay. In November, the Cathedral Chapter was evenly divided on Bromby's motion to erect a re-table, distinct from the Holy Table, and to place ornaments on it. The new Bishop would not give a casting vote. In other matters of ritual, the new Bishop was hesitant to side with Bromby.

Two offers of employment in England reached Bromby, one from Hull and the other, in December, from St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, where an old College friend, Pankridge, was Rector. On 11 January 1884, Bromby announced his intention of accepting an appointment as assistant priest at St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, London. His father had counselled acceptance.

On 5 April 1884, the younger Bromby was farewelled at St David's Schoolroom. With his sister and brother-in-law, Rev J. C. and Mrs Mace, and their five children, Bromby left Melbourne on 18 April in the S.S. Sorata. The Bromby family was reunited in England. The younger Bromby was delighted to be near his father again. "I always felt that if God wanted me to do any work for Him in England, the call would come," he said.

Chapter Eight

POST-TASMANIA

1883:1907

In 1838, a young graduate named Bromby had offered to the Bishop of Lichfield for ordination. C. H. Bromby had been unaggressive and unobtrusive in his curacy at Chesterfield. But, even then, his careful study of the Word of God, his scholarly style and his sympathetic and tolerant approach to all classes of churchmen and people had left their mark. The Diocese never forgot the "son of the Vicar of Hull". Some of his later students at Cheltenham had come from Lichfield. As in other dioceses, his influence returned in well-trained Christian teachers. No-one was more happy than Bromby when, forty-five years later, he was to return to the scenes of his early life. Bromby possessed a peculiar faculty of anticipating the future without relaxing his hold upon the affections of the past. He had been pleased to serve as locum tenens for the Archdeacon of the East Riding during 1880:1881. It brought back memories of his father and his boyhood. Now, he was to return to the diocese of Lichfield, the scene of his early manhood.

Upon his return to England, he settled with some of his family at Montford, in the parish of Shrawardine-cum-Montford, near Shrewsbury. As a Bishop, he was also co-adjutor to the Diocesan. For the first two years, a new Spring came to Bromby's life. He was bowed yet vigorous; and his taller, stately wife soon made for him a new home in his native land. From it,

he worked his parish, encouraged his curate in the neighbouring village, and travelled extensively, fulfilling his episcopal functions of confirming and exhorting. He soon resumed his reputation for deep and fatherly addresses, particularly at Confirmations, and for his interest in popular education and in the working classes. His own grand-daughter, the child of Minna and John Mace, can still recall his Confirmation soon after the family returned from Tasmania. "I was confirmed in his church at Montford," she said, "and I have never forgotten his text nor the genuine sincerity of his address; 'Choose you this day whom you will serve' has remained in my memory always." At the end of 1883, Bromby was writing to The Times, first on recent celestial phenomenon¹ and then on education for the poor in East London.²

One of Bromby's first tasks on his return to England was to help elect a new Bishop of Tasmania. The Commission, of which he was a member, chose Daniel Fox Sandford, LL.D. Sandford was a Canon of St John's, Edinburgh, son of Sir Daniel Keyle Sandford who had been Professor of Greek at Glasgow, and grandson of a former Bishop of Edinburgh. Soon after his election, Sandford visited Montford and stayed with Bishop and Mrs Bromby.

In 1884, the younger Bromby returned home and went straight to Montford where he stayed, before beginning his work at St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, London. Within a year, the younger Bromby transferred to St John's in Bethnal Green. His sister, Gertrude, acted once more as his housekeeper. The family circle seemed complete again. However what prom-

-
1. Letter, 24 February 1963, from Mrs Hilda Cooke, Manor Farm House, Beckley, Oxford.
 2. The Times, 17 December 1883, 20 December 1883.

ised to be a clear period of family happiness was clouded late in 1885 when Mary Bromby died. Neither the Bishop nor his son was ever the same again. After Mrs Bromby's death the son, particularly, "never saw the world again".³ He devoted his whole energies to the sanctuary of the Church.

Bromby continued his work at Lichfield, and took an interest in the pressing problems of Church-State relations. But he was lonely and despondent, and both his writings and statements, although they retained his customary tolerance and wisdom, showed less of the legal precision and clarity which they formerly held. He took less part in episcopal affairs. He became Master of St John's Hospital, Lichfield from 1887 to 1892. A further personal blow came in March 1889, when his brother died in Melbourne. J. E. Bromby had shared with his Bishop brother an abiding interest in popular educational movements. The Bishop had looked to him for example and advice. Both were interested in lecturing on the "popular science" of the day. J. E. Bromby gave lectures in Melbourne on subjects of general interest - such as the Moon and the Eddystone Lighthouse -;⁴ the Bishop's notebooks contain details of Lectures on Heat, Light and Energy which he delivered to various Working Men's Clubs in Cheltenham and Tasmania. Both men lectured on biblical subjects which often provoked critical discussion. Both were at heart enemies of partisanship; both were popular, in moments of

3. J. H. B. Mace, op cit, p 110.

4. Vide: Church of England Messenger, Melbourne, April 1889;
Argus, Melbourne, 5 March 1889.

quiet, with people of differing types of character and shades of opinion. Both were among the first preachers of "comprehensiveness" and both recognized the "doctrine of evolution".

Soon after Dr Bromby's death, the younger Bromby was offered St Mary's, Lowgate, Hull. He had hoped to retire there, with his father, so that the Bishop could be near the place of his birth "and be happy". However, points of churchmanship led to a withdrawal of the offer, and the younger Bromby went to the Bristol diocese, to All Saints' Church in Clifton. The Bishop was satisfied. His brother had taught with distinction in Bristol and was still remembered there. In 1892, the Bishop went to live with his son and three of his daughters in the Avenue, Clifton. The Bishop of Bath and Wells asked him to act as co-adjutor.

In Clifton, Bromby was content. He helped to foster his son's work. The younger Bromby had followed R. W. Randall, who had been appointed Dean of Chichester. The younger Bromby was happier in Clifton than he had ever been in Hobart. Addressing his new congregation, in 1892, he said:

"The most trying part of the work in Tasmania was that it was inevitable, if I held fast to what I believed to be the true and right principles of the Church, that I should offend many good people. They were not antagonistic, they did not become my enemies, but they were deeply grieved; and every priest must feel terribly the necessity of such a position. Here there can be none of this....."⁵

In 1894, George W. Kennion was appointed Bishop of Bath and Wells. He brought much friendship and happiness to the aging Bishop Bromby. Kennion had been formerly Vicar of St Paul's, Hull and then All Saints', Brad-

5. J. H. B. Mace, op cit, p 122.

ford, before going as Bishop to Adelaide, South Australia. Kennion⁶ shared Bromby's interest in the Church, the Colonies and Education.

Despite friendships, his son and his work, Bromby became more lonely and infirm. Tragedies bowed him, particularly family tragedies. Agnes, the daughter who had helped him so devotedly with school-work in Tasmania, died suddenly in 1901. Almost immediately, the Bishop ceased from active work. He preached his last sermons at St Francis', Ashton Gate, and in the Workhouse Chapel to poor friends on the occasion of Queen Victoria's death. He rarely left the Vicarage again. An eye-witness speaks of the Bishop:

"We moved to Clifton when I was a boy of fourteen, in 1900. The Bishop was living with his son at All Saints' VicarageI remember that the Bishop was short, much shorter than his son. He had a white beard, and was very feeble. He was always at the eight o'clock Mass on Sundays..... One morning, he begged me to wear his coat home because it was very frosty.....I was an invalid, and had to go to Church in a bath chair.....I remember how great an impression the old bishop's kindness made on me at the time..... I believe that he was not so advanced a Churchman as his son."⁷

In the last few years of his life, the Bishop was something of a legend in Clifton. "When he was no longer able to be visibly with us, the thought of his life of gentleness, unselfishness and patient endurance, lived out hard by in the Vicarage, acted as an inspiration and a benedic-

-
6. Much of the information for Bromby's post-Tasmania life has been provided by Mr. John M. Meadley, who, on behalf of the University of Hull, indexed the files of Hull newspapers 1829: 1929, stored at the Albion Street Libraries, Kingston-upon-Hull.
7. Letter from Rev. E. F. Bailey, Bath, Somerset, 24 February 1963.

tion."⁸ No-one knew of his sorrow when his second son, Charles Hamilton, died in 1904, or his son-in-law, J. C. Mace, in 1906. "Sorrow is not the same thing as sadness," he would say. Charles Hamilton Bromby had spent his last years in England, where he practised as a barrister in London in the North East Circuit. Mace had settled in England where his son, J. H. B. Mace, was later ordained and, in 1913, wrote the memoir of his uncle, Henry Bodley Bromby.

On "Good Shepherd Sunday" 14 April 1907, Bishop Bromby died. He was almost ninety-three years old. The funeral rites were solemn, at All Saints' Clifton, and in accordance with the son's high-Churchmanship. The Principal of Cheltenham Training College, Rev. H. A. Bren, attended. The service was read by Bishop Marsden, formerly Bishop of Bathurst, New South Wales. The final part of the Burial Service was at Banstead, a peaceful Churchyard on the Surrey Downs. Bromby was buried in his wife's grave and next to his son. The younger Bromby died three years later, on 21 December 1911. His sister Gertrude had entered an Anglican sisterhood in 1898, and, as Mother Gertrude, she cared for her brother in his last days at her Convent in Saltley, Birmingham.

8. All Saints, Clifton, Parish Magazine, May 1907.

Chapter Nine

THE MAN AND HIS WORK

C. H. Bromby retained throughout his life attitudes to persons, the Church and politics appropriate in the son of the venerable and militant Vicar of Hull. He had been fed by his father with Whig speculations on government, and educational and ecclesiastical apprehensions. As a boy, he must often have seen and heard in his father's vicarage men whose wont it was to preach violent reform when it was "as dangerous to do so as to be a highwayman". But he would have heard, too, his father's counsel of moderate toleration. Bromby acquired as a basis for action his father's political and ecclesiastical language, and his predilection for tolerant reform.

Throughout his life, Bromby had a growing, uneasy consciousness of the inhibiting dangers of frivolous bigotry in matters ecclesiastical, intellectual and governmental. The consciousness had been sown by his home in his planned education, had grown at Cambridge, blossomed at Cheltenham, and borne abundant fruit in his colonial diocese. Yet his judgments, especially his episcopal judgments, were often at variance with an expressed comprehensiveness. No apparent altruist was ever guilty of so much nepotism. Bromby almost invariably spoke with contempt of extreme partisans in his colonial diocese, yet he reserved his sharpest verbal castigation for those who dared to criticise his son, the most blatant partisan of them all.

It is easy to describe Bromby by negatives. He had no commanding

figure. He was not a clear speaker. He took no generally accepted theological position. He was not a man "of his time", nor was he understood clearly either at Cheltenham or in his diocese. There must be few bishops, even colonial bishops, who, in the early years of their episcopates, made so many seemingly contradictory judgments or wrote so many pastoral letters so full of apparent inconsistencies. Nor was it only in his letters that Bromby wrote in this fumbling way, but in his long and elaborate articles intended for the public eye. Not for nothing did the Tasmanian Press bewail the "Bishop's reticence and inconsistency", yet the two characteristics were not synonymous. It was hard for Bromby to teach tolerance to colonists who by nature or experience had been made intolerant. It was equally hard for Bromby to appear just to those who equated justice with apparent consistency. There could be no acceptable shades of grey in colonial judgments, even episcopal judgments, when history had bred in the colonists distinctions of class, property, and social consciousness. Bromby was mistaken in thinking he could transplant to Tasmania the type of political churchmanship expressed by his father in Hull. In Hull, the Church was at the centre of the people's affections; in Tasmania, it was rather an extension of the Colonists' personalities and property. Bromby's great contribution to the Tasmanian Church, as it was to the Church in Cheltenham, was his insistence on the virtues of tolerance and comprehensiveness.

Bromby was shy, sometimes to the point of distraction both to himself and others. This shyness, born of parental coddling masquerading as devotion, was the bete noire of his life. Those who did not know him well,

saw it as aloofness, reticence or arrogance. Only his own family saw it issue in a positive way in terms of deep affection. This affection, in turn, gushed forth as ill-concealed anger when any of his family was arraigned. A regretful awareness of this fault, quite as much as his customary isolation, made the man introspective. He was a dreamer, a planner of "utopias", many of which came to pass in later episcopates. Bromby's writings and work, which were more sombre and quiet than they were belligerent or flamboyant, gave an air of puzzling peace to the Bishop which annoyed the colonists because it was as unpredictable as it appeared unworldly. As Bishop, Principal or Headmaster, a peculiar stillness pervaded the figure of Bromby. In times of stress, sorrow or even anger one sensed a nearby calm. This, his most positive quality, which was partly innate but mainly developed from deep and frequent prayer, no doubt determined Bromby's consecration as it earlier imbued his teaching and later enhanced his episcopate.

A direct result of Bromby's spiritual stillness was the growth within himself of a rare prophetic sense. He prophesied both in England and Tasmania. In England, he had foretold the result of Robert Lowe's Revised Education Code, foreseen the essential place of Religion in educational schemes for the working class, and presaged in the wake of the Evangelical and Oxford Movements the Ecumenical Cause of later days. In Tasmania, he predicted needs: a cathedral as a symbol of unity and the centre of "comprehensiveness", finances and endowments under diocesan control, the blessings of disestablishment, amalgamation of cures, lay par-

ticipation, doctrinal toleration and synodical reform. He predicted with remarkable precision the course of colonial episcopacy, the pre-requisites for an effective Australian General Synod, and the ultimate basis of relationship between the Colonial and the Home Church. But opposition was formidable and, to a great extent, his prophecies were unheeded. As with most prophets, to Bromby was imputed blame for tribulations foreseen. Sometimes, despite all his caution, Bromby found that reforms which he hoped to effect quietly caused much antagonism and agitation. This occurred both in Cheltenham and Hobart. When it happened, Bromby generally fell back on his spiritual reserves, withdrew the measures and, apparently, did nothing. Later on, he would try again. For this, he was criticised; but he was only acting the role of a prophet.

Bromby had none of Nixon's artistry or animation. Nor did he possess any of Nixon's pretentious authoritarianism. If Bishop Bromby appeared to exhibit something of his predecessor's intolerance, it was not, as with Nixon, by intention, but only through expediency. It was Bromby, rather than Nixon, who overcame the Tasmanians' imported distrust of "national" Anglicanism, yet, at the same time, he worked for the "disestablishment" of the Tasmanian Church, thereby committing its members to financial obligations which they had previously shunned. Bromby appreciated more than Nixon the potential inherent in the peculiar Tasmanian colonial outlook, and foresaw more clearly than he what could become the vital Tasmanian Church of the future, acting within the framework of a legally independent Australian Church. Moreover, for Nixon, the synodical idea was simply an expediency

to ensure diocesan peace; for Bromby, it was essential to healthy diocesan development. Bromby has first claim to be called the "father of the Tasmanian Synod". He was a great champion of people, and of their constitutional rights. Through Synod, Bromby consolidated discipline, utilised laymen, revived worship, encouraged church extension, directed a "social ministry", pleaded comprehensiveness, and enhanced diocesan finances. He provided, through Synod, the legal framework for present-day Tasmanian Anglican action. Bromby used Synod as a unifying agency for the divergent interests of South and North, for clarifying the legal tangle of Tasmania's episcopacy, and for furthering an emphasis on colonial anti-Erastianism. Probably more than any other Australian Bishop of his day, Bromby saw the vision of a successful Australian General Synod with a workable constitution empowered to legislate for the Australian dioceses, rather than simply to advise. Among the reforms which the Tasmanian Church then required, there were two of paramount importance; one was an effective system of Church government; the other was a means of allaying Tasmanian isolation. Through Synod, Bromby worked for both.

During the latter part of his Tasmanian episcopate, Bromby concentrated more and more on legal problems and centralized diocesan administration. He was seen mainly in Hobart and the South, though he visited Launceston when Synod was in session there. In the earlier years, he travelled extensively, assessing diocesan needs and stimulating parochial growth. Later, his travels were exclusively episcopal visitations. He used Synod to delegate rural authority, through Archdeacons and Rural Deans. Many re-

gretted "a Bishop they did not see". But Bromby became obsessed by his "cathedral idea" and immersed in extensive correspondence and writings on pastoral matters and ecclesiastical law. When he travelled, it was usually with diocesan intent, and his trips were usually to Melbourne or Sydney. In thus concentrating on diocesan and provincial administration, he grew out of touch with Tasmania's intimate parochial problems and rural social needs. Whereas once he travelled by horse or coach, and made many necessary halts, in the last years he could often go by train direct to a destination. However, he kept in touch with his "dignitaries" to whom he delegated power and authority which stood them in good stead for the years ahead.

The one great blemish on Bromby's Tasmanian episcopate was his relationship with his son, who was at once his chaplain and his Dean. Bromby had been a good-natured man who had for over forty years looked for the good points in other men. None-the-less, he had known the malice of kind people and the treachery of well-meaning Christians. But he saw only good in his son. Even as the son's crusade of ritualism and high-Churchmanship tended to destroy the vision of the father's colonial "Jerusalem," Bromby was "tolerant" and "kind", pleading a comprehensiveness in doctrine and churchmanship which anti-Ritualists saw only as partisan. Such "subtlety" disturbed the colonists. Those who liked the younger Bromby and had sympathy with Ritualism and the Oxford Movement, followed him. These disciples were mainly clergy. Those who disliked the younger Bromby or the Bishop, or simply episcopacy, and had no sympathy with Ritualism ^{or} and the Oxford Movement, or were merely "conservative" colonists who had become cantankerous,

followed such men as Browne, Stackhouse, Banks Smith or Valentine. These disciples were mainly laymen. Many of them had not their leaders' intellectual grasp of the situation; but they were disposed to conflict. Their attitude was non-conformist. They were content with the Tasmanian method of "arid improvisation" in matters pertaining to the Colonial Church. Although they called themselves members of the Church of England, and justified their colonial position by claiming as ally "Protestant principles", they were generally unschooled in Anglicanism. Moreover, they did not understand the "novel teachings" of either the Bishop or his son. The Bishop had, in fact, moved as far from his father's "ethical Christianity" as the younger Bromby did from his "comprehensiveness". Neither position was intelligible to the unsophisticated colonist.

The sheer circumstance that the opposition to the Bishop's true Anglican position was divided into two parties, in themselves opposed to each other, kept Bromby's vision intact for fulfilment in some future episcopate. But it destroyed the immediate efficacy of Bromby's own episcopate. It also destroyed Bromby, as far as Tasmanians were concerned. Neither of the opposing minorities could bring forward a truly diocesan measure without producing a party-split. Each party, therefore, looked for a Bishop of their own colour or who was exclusively sympathetic to it. This has been a recurring blight in the history of colonial Anglicanism. In Tasmania, Bromby foresaw it and aimed to make it abortive. He failed: there were numerous would-be Kings in the Diocese who would "know not Joseph".

In any case, Bromby's greatest discernible influence was felt not

in Tasmania, but in England and especially in Cheltenham. In English church circles, he was known as a wise counsellor in Home-Colonial Church relationships. In Cheltenham, he was a teacher and, because he was a visionary, a great teacher: "the best teacher I have ever heard," wrote Moseley. Moreover, he trained teachers, thousands finding in him their example. Clergy, on the other hand, do not see a Bishop primarily as instructor or guide, but as arbiter. Where theological division is distinct, as is often the case in Colonial dioceses, episcopal arbitration is sometimes partisan-based, and so conflict between clergy and Bishop is often rife. As with other Bishops, Bromby was driven from his office by petty men. He tried to regain power in England as a co-adjutor, but he was unsuccessful. When he died, one single telegram came from Tasmania, but Cheltenham's testimonials were profuse. He had expected failure in Tasmania, but "it was only failure," he said, "as the present colonists see failure".

This shy, nervous and seemingly unpractical man never wholly relaxed except with his closest and most intimate companions. A personal dignity surrounded him. He did know how to "relax", but those who shared his relaxation were few in number. His life in public and in private held some striking contrasts. He was absolutely in charge of self on diocesan tours, in planning amalgamation of cures, in fostering ideas for diocesan "family life" or in giving pastoral advice in deep and private affairs. He was self-reliant in Synod or Provincial gatherings. However, he was curiously inept at managing his private affairs, relying on his wife and daughters to a very great extent. In one of the opening entries of the

True Briton Journal, Mrs Bromby laments the Bishop's carelessness in leaving in Portsmouth his top-coat and hat. Throughout his episcopate, a member of his family travelled with him, whenever possible.

Bromby was an indefatigable writer and reader, a keen and discerning interpreter of Scripture, and a most popular lecturer in Working Men's Clubs, particularly in England. In Tasmania, diocesan duties prevented his undertaking frequent lecture engagements but his Tasmanian note-books abound in diagrams and notes of matters astronomical, scientific, educational and pertaining to Church Law.

Perhaps Bromby's most unreserved support was given to the new St Paul's Training College in Cheltenham and to St David's Cathedral, Hobart. In both cases, he had an eye to the future. St Paul's, Cheltenham, remains as a monument to his foresight. As a training ground for Christian teachers and missionaries, it is one of the largest colleges, as it is certainly the most successful, in England. St David's Cathedral remains as a sad remembrance of bitter faction. Until now, its beauty has been confined to its architectural form. At variance with the Bishop's aim, the younger Bromby planted there a tradition of Ritualism and high-Churchmanship which persisted. Anglicans have felt divided there, save those who have adhered to its particular churchmanship. This, together with the strange parochialism which held the place and further prevented a true and broad cathedral expression, had no part in Bromby's original intention. Bromby provided a cathedral of charming beauty. He desired that it should be used to propagate his tolerant policy of comprehensiveness. Through the fault of

his son, its policy became one of limiting exclusiveness. The eye of Bromby was also directed to a visionary Christ's College. It was to his credit and the advantage of the diocese that he kept the vision alive. As best he could, and in the peculiar colonial circumstances, he trained his clergy and sent them out, often poorly paid, to minister throughout the island. The loneliness of their tasks and the apathy of many parishioners brought about some serious personal problems amongst country clergy of the day. "The curse of drink", which afflicted several, was one of the strongest reasons for Bromby's diocesan "Temperance" campaign. Churchmen contributed well to this, but poorly to diocesan funds.

When Bromby arrived in his diocese, the colonists in the main seemed to disapprove of the Anglican church in Tasmania. Bromby's main works in Tasmania brought about a more cordial relationship between Church and people. Yet this remained a parochial gain. Bromby was not successful in awakening a rich diocesan spirit. His altruistic intention was rent by partisanship from quarters where influence was greatest and injury deepest. Whatever the people wanted was probably parochial; what they achieved was not diocesan.

The praise to which Bromby may lay claim is this: he understood what Tasmania needed and what the Colonial Churches needed better than any of his contemporaries and many who followed after him. His chief failure lay in the fact that only now are some of his schemes being tried, and tried successfully. Bromby had attempted to implement his policies only when he felt he could, that is when such action was compatible with his son's intense ambition. Bromby was a visionary, and a man of humble yet inhibited greatness.



Charles Henry Tasmania

born: 1814

died: 1907

APPENDICES

(i) Synod List, 1882

THE LORD BISHOP - The Right Reverend CHARLES HENRY BROMBY, D.D.

Archdeaconry of Hobart-Archdeacon, VEN. ARTHUR DAVENPORT, B.A.

PARISHES (Defined in Resolutions of 1877.)	CLERGY	REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LAITY
HOBART: -		
St. David's	H. B. Bromby, B.A.)	J. Barnard)
.....	J. C. Mace)	J. Hamilton)
Holy Trinity	G. W. Shoobridge)	
.....	A. Martin)	W. Lovett)
.....	R. D. Poulett-)	H. W. Chapman)
	Harris, M.A.)	
St. George's	G. B. Smith	C. Butler)
		W. Belbin)
St. John Baptist's	J. B. H. Bailey)	A. Dobson)
.....	G. F. Archer, B.A.)	A. Reid)
All Saints'	E. H. Curwen, B.A.)	R. P. Adams)
.....	J. W. Buckland, B.A.)	W. Tarleton)
Bothwell	A. R. A. Beresford	M. Weston
Buckland	C. W. Power	T. Cruttenden
Brighton - Brighton	J. K. Willmer	C. H. Elliston
Broadmarsh ..		E. Mann
Clarence	H. Finnis	J. O. O. McArdell
D'Entrecasteaux-Channel	C. L'Oste	H. J. Daldy
Kingston	C. L'Oste	R. J. Lucas
Green Ponds	A. C. Julius	J. Bisdee
Hamilton	J. Wren	J. R. D. Bethune
Huon - Franklin with Vic-		
toria	E. H. Thompson)	S. Parsons
Port Esperance with)	
Southport .)	J. Hoskins
New Norfolk - New Norfolk	W. W. F. Murray, M.A.	W. C. Sharland
Macquarie		
Plains	T. Garrard, B.D.	W. L. Crowther
New Town - New Town	A. N. Mason)	C. F. Collier)
)	John Pearce)
Glenorchy ...	T. McDowell)	H. Butler
Oatlands	W. F. Mitchell	R. Harrison
Richmond	H. W. Hugill	E. C. Nowell
Sorell	C. J. Brammall	C. Hazell
Swansea	J. Nethercott	E. C. Shaw

APPENDICES (Continued)

(i) Synod List, 1882

ARCHDEACONRY OF LAUNCESTON-Archdeacon, VEN. FRANCIS HALES, B.A.

PARISHES (Defined in Resolutions of 1877.)	CLERGY	REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LAITY
LAUNCESTON: -		
St. John's	M. B. Brownrigg) W. H. Savigny, M.A.)	W. Turner) F. W. Von Stieglitz)
Holy Trinity	F. Hales, B.A.) W. Hogg)	B. Shaw) J. McIntyre)
St. Paul's	A. Barkway	J. C. Ferguson) J. Sinclair)
Campbell Town-Campbell Town Ross	C. Vaughan C. Vaughan	C. H. Leake
Carrick	C. R. Arthur	
Circular Head	H. D. Atkinson	R. J. Ellis
Deloraine	J. Evans	J. T. Lovejoy
Dorset (North)	J. G. Morling	B. T. Solly
Dorset (South)	F. Williams	E. D. Swan
Dorset (Mission)	J. Clampett	
Emu Bay	B. K. Bourdillon	
Fingal - Fingal		J. Grant
Cullenswood ...	J. W. H. L'Oste	R. W. Butler
Avoca	J. W. H. Geiss, B.A.	R. Clerk
Forth and Leven	E. Champion	E. N. C. Braddon
Hagley	E. P. Adams	N. Sadlier
Longford - Longford	A. Wayn	W. H. D. Archer
Cressy	J. M. Norman	W. Newton
Mersey	R. T. Batchelor	T. Stephens
.....	J. G. Morling	
Morven - Evandale	J. Chambers	J. Whitehead
Perth	D. Galer	C. J. H. Parsons
Tamar	J. Dixon	W. Barnes
Westbury	F. B. Sharland, B.A.	F. Belstead

Other Licensed Clergymen - Rev. G. Wright, Rev. J. Gray, Rev. J. C. Whall,
M.A.,
Rev. S. B. Fookes, M.A., Rev. E. Royer.

APPENDICES

(ii) Bishop Bromby's Published Works

from Catalogues in the British Museum

1. The Sorrows of Bethany; and other Sermons. (Lond., 1846)
2. The Pupil Teachers' English Grammar and Etymology of the English language. (Lond., 1848)
3. The Church, the Privy Council and the Working Classes. With remarks upon Kneller Hall, the National Society and Mr Fox's Bill. (Lond., 1850)
4. Tracts for Pupil Teachers and Normal Seminaries, No. 1-3 (Lond., 1851.)
5. Papers for the Schoolmaster, Periodical, 13 vols, ed. C.H. Bromby. (Lond., 1851, etc.)
6. Liturgy and Church History. (Lond., 1852.)
7. Thoughts on the War, A Sermon. (Lond., 1854.)
8. A Lecture on Education. Its principles, instruments and present prospects. (Lond., 1854.)
9. Review of Sir John Parkington's Bill on Public Education (extracted from "Papers for the Schoolmaster".) (Lond., 1855.)
10. On Voluntary Half-Time Schemes (of Education). (Lond., 1857.)
11. Moral and Religious Training (Chelt., 1859.)
12. A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Robert Lowe, M.P. containing strictures upon the false assumptions and inadequate remedies of the Revised Education Code. (Lond., 1861.)
13. Revised Education Code. A letter to the Rt. Hon. Earl Granville etc. (Lond., 1861.)
14. Book of Common Prayer. Its History and Principles. (Edin., 1861.)
15. Church Student Manual (the third edition of Liturgy and Church History.) (Edin., 1862.)

APPENDICES

(ii) Bishop Bromby's Published Works (Continued)

16. Principles and Prospects of Popular Education. (Chelt., 1862.)
 17. The First Book of Wordsworth's 'Excursion'. (Lond., 1864.)
 18. The History and Grammar of the English Language.....a new edition, revised and partly rewritten by I.L. Reynolds. (Lond., 1876.)
 19. Second Revised Edition. (Lond., 1881.)
 20. What is Real Education? (Lond., 1895.)
-

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

(i) Official

Correspondence: Executive Council,
Governor's Office,
Colonial Secretary's Department.
(Archives, State Library of Tasmania.)

(ii) Church - England:

Ordination Papers, Institution Act Books, 1770:1868.
(Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York.)
Baptismal Registers, 1800:1850. (Holy Trinity Church, Hull.)
Rolls and Records, 1820:1840. (Uppingham School, Rutland.)
Admission Registers, 1830:1840. (St John's College, Cambridge.)
Letters to Miss Dorothea Beale, Vols i:iv. (Cheltenham Ladies'
College Guild of Old Students, Cheltenham.)
Minutes of the Provisional Committee, Cheltenham Normal College,
1847. (Records' Office, Gloucester.)
Minutes of the Executive Committee, Cheltenham Normal College,
1849, 1854, 1859, 1860, 1862, 1864. (Records' Office,
Gloucester.)
Correspondence relating to Cheltenham Normal College, 1850:1864.
(Records' Office, Gloucester.)
Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Governors and Vice-
Presidents of the Cheltenham Normal College, 1851:1864.
(Records' Office, Gloucester.)

Church - Tasmania:

The following may be found in the Diocesan Archives, Hobart:
Rev. Robert Knopwood's First Sermon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

7 Papers and Letters, 1862:1868.

Minute Book of the Proceeding of Diocesan Synod, 1857:1880.

Minutes of St David's Cathedral Chapter, 1874.

Bishop F. R. Nixon's Letter Book, 29 October 1850:6 March 1862.

Bishop C. H. Bromby's Letter Books-12 August 1867:19 October 1869; 30 November 1869: 19 January 1873; 1 October 1875: 5 September 1879; 11 September 1879: 22 August 1882.

Bishop C. H. Bromby's Note Books.

Diocese of Tasmania, Register of Consecration of Churches and Licences, Vols ii, iii.

Minutes of the Committee of the Sustentation Fund for the Archdeaconry of Launceston, 1856:1863.

Minutes of General Church Fund, Archdeaconry of Launceston, 1863:1871.

Reibey Papers, 1868:1870, concerning the case Blomfield v Reibey.

The following may be found at Christ College, University of Tasmania, Hobart:

Barrett Collection, mainly letters, 1862:1882.

(iii) Private

The True Briton Journal by Mrs C. H. Bromby with occasional entries by Bishop Bromby. This Journal of the trip to Australia in the True Briton, September:December 1864, is in the possession of Mrs H. Cooke, Manor Farm House, Beckley, Oxford, England.

(iv) Unpublished Theses and Papers

N. Batt, "Bishop Nixon and Conflicts within the Church of England in Tasmania" (B.A. Hons thesis, Univ. Tasmania, 1962.)

J. A. McElroy, "An Evangelical Remembers." (Paper read before the Church of England League, Hobart, November 1940.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

B. PRINTED SOURCES

(i) Church

Report of the Church Society for the Diocese of Tasmania, 1879: 1883.

Scheme for the Future Constitution of Christ's College, (Hobart, 1872.

Christ's College, Tasmania, (Hobart, 1906.)

Sustentation Fund; Rules Passed at the Meeting of the Committee for the Archdeaconry of Hobart Town, March 28th, 1856. (Hobart, 1856.)

Rules and Regulations of the Sustentation Fund, Established for Church Purposes, in the Archdeaconry of Launceston, June 18, A.D. 1856. (Hobart, 1856.)

Minutes of the Proceedings of a Meeting of the Metropolitan and Suffragan Bishops of the Province of Australasia, held in Sydney October 1, 1850. (Syd., 1851.)

Report of the 1867 Synod, Goulburn, 1867. (Goulb., 1867.)

Minutes of the Conference of the Bishops at Sydney, November-December 1868. (Syd., 1869.)

Year Book of the Church of England in Tasmania, (Hobart, 1891, 1942.)

Official Record of the Proceedings of the Diocesan Synod of Tasmania. (Hobart, 1859:1883.)

Proceedings of the General Synod of the Dioceses in Australia and Tasmania. (Syd., 1872, 1876, 1881.)

(ii) Official

Census Returns, Cheltenham, England, (1851)

Statistics of the Colony of Tasmania. (1883.)

Census of the Colony of Tasmania, (1870.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

(iii) Newspapers and Periodicals (years used.)

England:

The Times, 1883.

Hull Advertiser, 1863, 1864, 1868.

Hull News, 1864.

Hull Packet, 1868.

Hull and Eastern Counties' Herald, 1869, 1880, 1907.

Uppingham School Magazine, 1953.

Eagle, St John's College, Cambridge, Vol xlll.

Brighton Directory, 1833, 1839.

Colonial Church Record, 1873.

Proceedings of the Royal Society, 1898.

Cheltenham Times, 1864, 1907.

Cheltenham Examiner, 1864, 1880, 1907.

Cheltenham Ladies' College Magazine, Autumn 1917.

Kentish Gazette, 1864.

Guardian, 1864, 1874, 1881.

All Saints', Clifton, Parish Magazine, 1907.

Cambridge Chronicle, 1880, 1881.

Australia:

Church News for the Diocese of Tasmania, 1863:1884.

Launceston Times, 1864, 1865, 1870.

Examiner, 1857, 1865, 1870, 1871, 1873, 1880, 1882, 1904, 1907.

Cornwall Chronicle, 1865, 1866, 1868, 1870, 1871.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

Mercury, 1862, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1868, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873,
1874, 1882, 1884, 1907, 1932.

Tasmanian Church Chronicle, 1855.

Wilfridian, 1946.

Church Standard, 1917.

Argus, Melbourne, 1865, 1889.

Age, Melbourne, 1865.

Melbourne Church of England Gazette, 1865.

Melbourne Church of England Messenger, 1889.

Sydney Gazette, 1809.

(iv) General

E. Ackroyd, Factory Education and its Extension. (Lond., 1861.)

H. C. Barnard, A History of English Education, 2nd ed. (Lond., 1961.)

W. R. Barrett, History of the Church of England in Tasmania.
(Hobart, 1942.)

D. Beale, History of Cheltenham Ladies' College. (Chelt., 1904.)

W. E. Beck, A History of the Cheltenham Training Colleges (St Paul
and St Mary). (Bath, 1947.)

G. Blainey, Centenary History of the University of Melbourne.
(Melb., 1957.)

D. Blair, Cyclopaedia of Australia. (Melb., 1881.)

R. Border, Church and State in Australia 1788-1872. (Lond., 1962.)

C. H. Bromby, A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Robert Lowe, M.P. contain-
ing strictures upon the False Assumptions and Inadequate Reme-
dies of the Revised Education Code. (Lond., 1861.)

" " To the Rt. Hon. Earl Granville, Lord President of the
Privy Council. (Lond., 1861.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

- W.G. Brooke (ed.), Six Judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Ecclesiastical Cases. (Lond., 1872.)
- A. K. Clarke, A History of the Cheltenham Ladies' College, 1853-1953, 2nd ed. (Lond., 1954.)
- H. Lowther Clarke, The Constitutional History of the General Provincial and Diocesan Synods of the Church of England in Australia. (Lond., 1918.)
- F. H. Cox, How to Work for God, a Sermon. (March, 1872.)
- J. Craggs, A New Triennial Directory and Guide of Kingston-upon-Hull. (Hull, 1835.)
- J. Fenton, History of Tasmania. (Hobart, 1884.)
- E. Flinn, History, Politics and Economy of Tasmania, 1856-1959. (Hobart, 1961.)
- H. P. Fry, Solemn Declaration of the Members of the Church of England in Tasmania on the present condition of that Church in that Colony. (Hobart, 1851.)
- " " An Answer to the Right Rev. F. R. Nixon, D.D., First Bishop of Tasmania. (Hobart, 1853.)
- R. A. Giles, The Constitutional History of the Australian Church. (Lond., 1929.)
- G. Goodman, The Church in Victoria. (Lond., 1892.)
- A. Gordon, Formation of Provinces, Substance of a Speech, General Synod, Session 1881, 13 October, 1881. (Syd., 1881.)
- F. C. Green, (ed.), A Century of Responsible Government. (Hobart, 1956.)
- J. Dunmore Lang, History of New South Wales, vol.ii (Lond., 1854.)
- J. Lawson, A Town Grammar School through Six Centuries. (O.U.P., 1963.)
- S. Lee, L. Stephen (ed.), Dictionary of National Biography. (Lond. 1887, 1891, 1898, 1900.)
- J. H. B. Mace, Henry Bromby - a Memoir. (Lond., 1913.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

- P. Mennell, The Dictionary of Australasian Biography, 1855-1892. (Lond., 1892.)
- E. Miller, Portrait of a College - A History of the College of Saint John the Evangelist, Cambridge. (C.U.P., 1961.)
- F. R. Nixon, A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Tasmania at the Primary Visitation in the Cathedral Church of St David, 23 April 1846. (Hobart, 1846.)
- F. R. Nixon, The Cruise of "the Beacon". (Lond., 1857.)
- F. R. Nixon, To the Members of the Church of England in the Diocese of Tasmania from their Bishop. (Hobart, 19 November 1860.)
- N. Nixon, The Pioneer Bishop in Van Diemen's Land. (Hobart, 1953.)
- R. J. Phillimore, Ecclesiastical Law, vol. ii. (Lond., 1895.)
- R. Raikes, Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham. (Lond., 1908.)
- C. Reeves, A History of Tasmanian Education. (Melb., 1935.)
- T. H. Reibey, Lymington Church Endowment. (Hobart, 1870.)
- E. C. Rowland, A Century of the English Church in New South Wales. (Syd., 1948.)
- G. Serle, The Golden Age. (Melb., 1963.)
- J. J. Sheahan, History of the Town and Port of Kingston-upon-Hull, 2nd ed. (Hull, 1866.)
- L. Stephen (ed.), see Lee.
- K. R. von Stieglitz, Days and Ways in Old Evandale. (Launc., 1946.)
- " " A Short History of Deloraine. (Launc., 1950.)
- " " Longford Past and Present. (" 1947.)
- " " A Short History of Ross. (" 1949.)
- " " A Short History on Latrobe, Port Sorell and Sassafras. (Launc., 1947.)
- " " St Andrew's Church, Evandale, (Launc., 1937.)
- " " Christ Church Centenary, Longford, (Launc. 1939.)
- " " Then and Now in Old Westbury, (Launc. 1946.)
- " " A Short History of Cressy and Bishopsbourne, (Launc., 1947.)
- " " A Centenary of Christ Church, Cullenswood, (Launc., 1948.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

- K. R. Von Stieglitz, A Short History of St Leonard's, with Notes on the White Hills and Franklin Village. (Launc., 1948.)
- " " A Short History of Campbell Town and the Mid-land Pioneers. (Launc., 1949.)
- E. Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, vol. ii. (Lond. 1899.)
- C. Turnbull, The Charm of Hobart. (Syd., 1949.)
- W. Valentine, Papers and Correspondence Relative to the Ordination held at Campbell Town on 21st December last. (Hobart, 1866.)
- J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part ii, Vol. i. (C.U.P., 1940.)
- M. K. Wishaw, Tasmanian Village: A Story of Carrick. (Launc., 1963.)
- F. T. Whittington, Augustus Short, (Adel., 1887.)
- " " Ancient and Modern Church Law. (Hobart, 1910.)
- " " William Grant Broughton, (Syd., 1936.)
- R. W. B. Wilmot (ed.), Liber Melburniensis, 1858-1914. (Melb., 1914.)
-